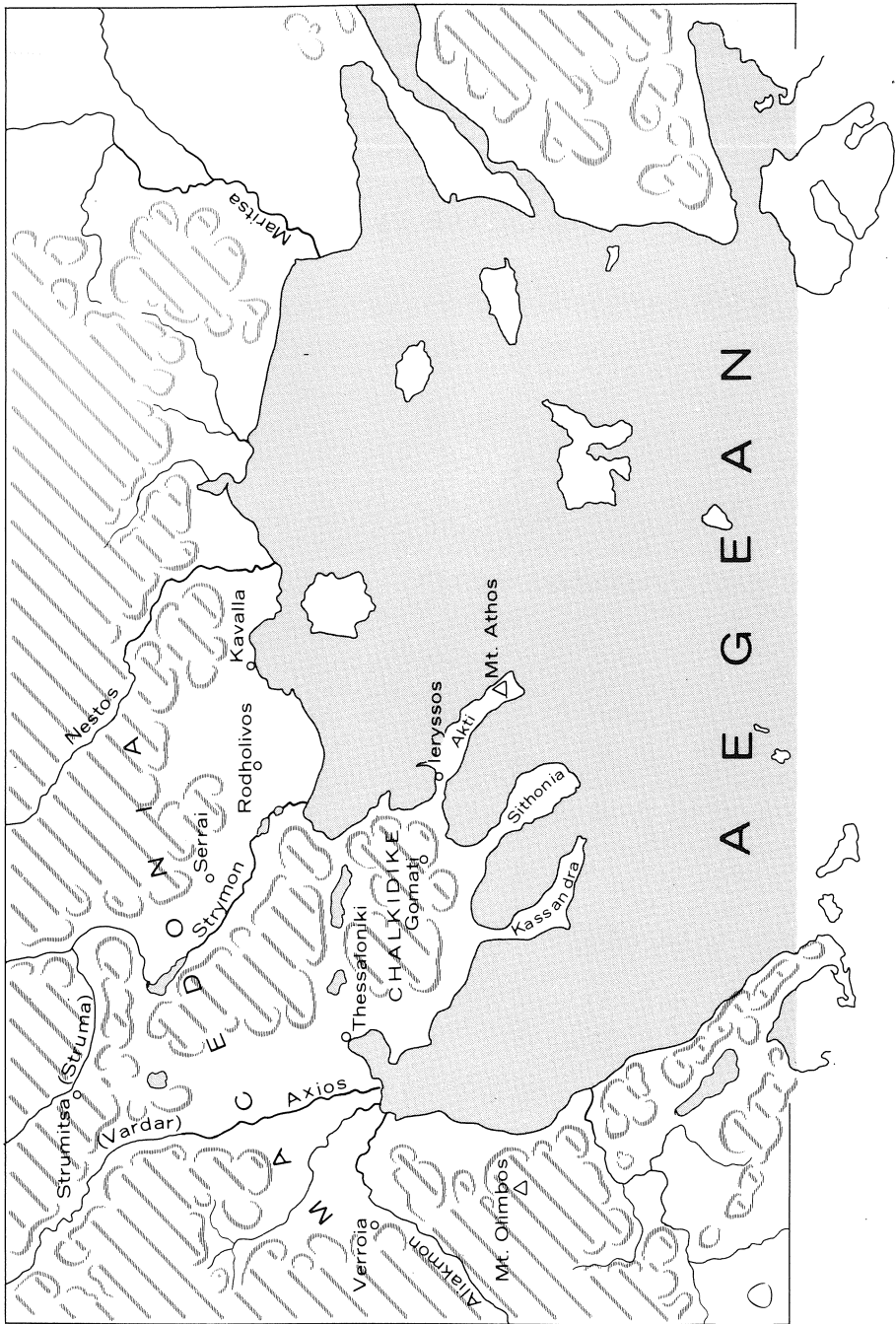


PEASANT SOCIETY
IN THE LATE
BYZANTINE EMPIRE



Physical Map of Macedonia

ANGELIKI E. LAIOU-THOMADAKIS

Peasant Society
in the Late
Byzantine Empire

A Social and Demographic Study

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

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FOR MY HUSBAND,
STAVROS THOMADAKIS,
AND OUR SON,
VASSILI

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LIST OF GREEK TERMS

<i>apographe</i>	(ἀπογραφή)	assessment
<i>apographeus-eis</i>	(ἀπογραφεὺς-εἰς)	assessor(s), censor(s)
<i>paroikos</i>	(πάροικος)	dependent peasant
<i>periorismos</i>	(περιορισμός)	delineation, survey
<i>praktikon</i>	(πρακτικόν)	inventory

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Angeliki E. Laiou-Thomadakis

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PEASANT SOCIETY
IN THE LATE
BYZANTINE EMPIRE



The Themes of Thessaloniki and Strymon in the Fourteenth Century

CHAPTER I

The Problem and the Method

IN the last two centuries of its formal existence, the Byzantine state underwent a significant transformation, reflecting fundamental changes in the structure of society. What had been a strong, centralized state became progressively weak and decentralized under the double pressure of external enemies—the Ottoman Turks and the various Italian maritime cities—and internal developments. The fiscal, administrative, political, and judicial functions of the state were, to a large degree, abandoned, and were assumed instead by other institutions or individuals: the church, the towns, and the lay and ecclesiastic landlords. Economically, the Byzantine state was weakened by the fact that foreign trade, and even to some degree domestic trade, passed into the hands of the Italians. In the realm of finances, we find that various taxes which had belonged to the state were now either abandoned or collected by others: the Italian traders, privileged towns, and privileged laymen or ecclesiastic institutions. Administratively, one can witness the progressive weakening of the central authority as individuals or groups of individuals received or seized the power to govern specific areas. Long before the Turkish conquest, the Byzantine state had disintegrated, as great magnates, or aristocrats of moderate wealth, or towns acquired virtual self-government. Indeed, the state itself often behaved as just another individual great magnate, and the only realm in which it still functioned as a central power was the realm of foreign policy.¹

¹ On the political history of the Byzantine state in the Palaeologan

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The most interesting developments in Byzantine society of the Palaeologan period took place in the countryside. It is, perhaps, a truism to say that in the majority of pre-industrial societies agriculture or animal husbandry forms the primary economic activity and the source of the economic surplus, and that therefore the fundamental social relations are those which prevail in the countryside. While some exceptions exist, notably, in the European Middle Ages, the case of Venice until the fifteenth century, when it acquired a substantial hinterland, the Byzantine Empire throughout its history was a society in which the countryside and social relations in the countryside were of fundamental importance. In the Palaeologan period, the role of the countryside was even further increased by the fact that the economic system, under the pressure of the Italian maritime cities which controlled much of the trade and notably the trade in foodstuffs, was thrown more than ever toward agriculture.

It has been recognized by several historians that during the last two centuries of its existence Byzantine society became heavily feudalized.² Land being the primary source of wealth, revenues from land were distributed by the Palaeologan Emperors among their followers and among civil and military officials in the form of *pronoia*. While originally such grants carried the obligation of service—military or other—eventually, and given the fact that many *pronoiai* soon became hereditary, the *pronoia*-holders did not necessarily fulfill their service obligations. By the end of the period, furthermore, what had been primarily a grant of revenues often became a grant of territorial rights as

period, see D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium 1261–1453* (London, 1972).

² See, for example, G. Ostrogorskij, *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine* (Brussels, 1954); B. T. Gorjanov, *Pozdnevizantijskij feodalizm* (Moscow, 1962), A. P. Každan, *Agrarnye otnošenija v Vizantii XIII–XV vv.* (Moscow, 1952), K. V. Hvosťova, *Osobennosti agrarnopravovyh otnošenii v pozdnei Vizantii XIV–XV vv.* (Moscow, 1968).

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well. The countryside was parceled out among landlords great and small; their revenues consisted of the taxes which the peasants had originally paid to the state, plus a part of the surplus, paid as rent and collected in the form of part of the yield. The peasant became a *paroikos*, a dependent peasant, as groups of families or entire villages were granted to the landlords. For land without men was, of course, unproductive, and the landlords were interested not merely in the possession of land but also in the control over the productive forces.

Lay landlords varied greatly in wealth and power. There were "soldiers" who held small estates with a few families of *paroikoi* and with annual revenues which varied, but were lower than forty or fifty gold coins. The "soldiers" who formed the bulk of the army probably had annual revenues of about seventy or eighty *hyperpyra* (gold coins).³ The great magnates had much larger properties, extending over entire areas and yielding immense revenues: the Palaiologoi, the Kantakouzenoi, the Synadenoï, and others formed part of this group of magnates.⁴ The most wealthy

³ The figure of seventy or eighty *hyperpyra* is somewhat arbitrary. It is taken from two examples, the *praktikon* of Manuel Berilas (P. Schreiner, "Zwei unedierte Praktika aus der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 19 [1970], 38, 42–46) and the unpublished *praktika* given to Michael Saventzes and to Nikolaos Maroules in 1321 and now found in the archives of the monastery of Xenophon. For "soldiers" with lower revenues, there is the example of the Klazomenites of Serres, who asked that their revenues be guaranteed to the sum of 10–12 *hyperpyra* per year, and the *prostagma* of Michael VIII (1272) which allowed his son Andronikos II to increase the property of some soldiers by 36 *hyperpyra*: P. Lemerle, *Actes de Kutlumus* (Paris, 1946), no. 20; A. Heisenberg, *Aus der Geschichte und Literatur der Palaiologenzeit*, Sitzungsberichte d. Bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-philol. und historische Klasse (Munich, 1920), 40. For an example of a very poor soldier, see W. Regel, E. Kurtz, B. Korabiev, *Actes de Zographou, Vizantiiskij Vremennik*, 13 (1907), appendix. I, 37–38.

⁴ Cf. A. E. Laiou, "The Byzantine Aristocracy in the Palaeologan Period: A Story of Arrested Development," *Viator*, 4 (1973), 131–151.

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landlord, however, was the church. The Palaeologan Emperors, especially Andronikos II (1282–1329) and his successors, gave the church massive donations of land and peasants, making the church the greatest landlord in what remained of the Empire. There were, of course, gradations of wealth within the church itself: small monastic foundations or small churches might only control a few parcels of land, while the great monasteries of Mount Athos, especially Lavra, Iveron, and Chilandar, had vast possessions.

In the course of the Palaeologan period, the power and influence of the great landlords increased at the expense of that of people of more moderate wealth; there was a certain consolidation of power which can be seen in the fact that small *pronoia*-holders seem to be under constant pressure, and in the fact that great landlords incorporated land belonging to smaller landlords.⁵

In this system of progressive feudalization, the peasant found himself linked with ties of dependence to lay or ecclesiastical landlords. The dependence was both economic, since part of the products of the *paroikos*' labor was appropriated by the landlord, and juridical, since the *paroikos* was expected to stay on the land of his landlord. While the *paroikos* was not a man without rights and was certainly not a slave, his subjection was nonetheless real.⁶ Equally real was his opposition to this subjection, an opposition which sometimes assumed the form of active struggle against the landlord, and more frequently was expressed passively, through flight from the landlord's estates.⁷

The survival of a number of important sources, covering primarily the period from the late thirteenth to the middle of the fourteenth century, allows us to study the structure

⁵ See, for example, Georgii Pachymeres, *De Michaelē et Andronico Palaeologis*, ed. I. Bekkerus II (Bonn, 1835), 258–262, 389–390, and Každan, *Agrarnye otnošenija*, 65–66.

⁶ Cf. *infra*, chapter v.

⁷ Cf. Každan, *Agrarnye otnošenija*, chapter VIII, and *infra*, chapters II, VI.

of peasant society and the effects of feudalization upon the productive capacity of the peasant and upon the demographic development of rural society. Narrative sources and the few documents surviving from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century give a very gloomy picture of the Byzantine countryside, by then limited to parts of Thrace and Macedonia, a few islands, and the Morea—the latter having a development of some peculiarity. In this period, the countryside was devastated and depopulated; men were scarce and land plentiful but uncultivated. Productivity was very low; even the economic resources of the church had declined precipitously.

At first glance, this state of devastation and depopulation may be ascribed to external and catastrophic factors. The incursions of Serbs and Ottoman Turks disrupted the countryside both in demographic terms and in terms of productivity. The Black Death may have had an effect on the demographic development of the countryside, although the extent of its ravages has yet to be precisely determined.⁸ The general political instability, the constant civil wars, the intervention of the Italian city-states had catastrophic economic results. Yet it is a recognized fact that the effect of external catastrophes depends to a significant extent upon the structure of the society which they strike.⁹ Even the Black Death, which was unquestionably catastrophic in western Europe, had differential effects, striking mostly the poor urban populations and less the richer urban classes and the countryside.¹⁰ Thus, although catastrophic factors do

⁸ Cf. Nicol, *Last Centuries*, 224–225; R.-J. Loenertz, ed. *Démétrius Cydonès, Correspondance*, I (Vatican City, 1956), 122. Nicephori Gregorae, *Byzantina Historia*, ed. L. Schopen, II (Bonn, 1830), 797–798; Ioannis Cantacuzeni, eximperatoris, *Historiarum libri IV*, ed. B. G. Niebuhr, III (1832), 49–53.

⁹ E. A. Kosminsky, "Peut-on considérer le xiv^e et xv^e siècles comme l'époque de la décadence de l'économie européenne?" *Studi in onore di Armando Sapori*, I (Milan-Varese, 1957), 553–569.

¹⁰ R. Cazelles, "La peste de 1348 en langue d'oil, épidémie prolétarienne et infantile," *Bulletin philologique et historique*, 1962, 293ff.; M. Mollat, "Notes sur la mortalité à Paris au temps de la

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play an important role, the historian can only understand and evaluate their impact when he understands the forces operating in the society he is studying.

In the particular case of the Byzantine countryside, it is important to look not only at the catastrophic events but also and primarily at the structure of peasant society. The present study tries to determine the condition of the productive forces and the social relations which predominated in the Byzantine countryside in the fourteenth century. In particular, it is concerned with the structure of the village, with the family and kinship groups, and with the social and demographic trends which were present in the rural society in the course of that century. It will be shown that already in the first half of that century, that is, at a time of political instability but before the catastrophic collapse of the state, the peasant was becoming poorer, and his society was experiencing a demographic decline, whether cyclical or secular. This conclusion emerges quite clearly from the documentation. Furthermore, an effort will be made in this study to interpret and explain the reasons for this decline.

The late thirteenth century and the fourteenth century down to approximately 1340 are especially rich in terms of documentation. This is due, on the one hand, to the process of feudalization of society. A great number of laymen and monasteries received imperial grants of lands, peasants, revenues, and privileges, and some of the documents of donation have survived. These documents were periodically reissued and carefully preserved by the persons who benefited from the donation. Apart from imperial acts of donation, there are private acts of donation, acts of sale of land, documents relating to disputes between various landlords, and acts guaranteeing the possessions of individuals or institutions. There are also *periorismoi*, or delineations of

Peste Noire d'après les comptes de l'oeuvre de Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois," *Le Moyen Age*, 69, 1963, 505-527; M. Mollat and Philippe Wolff, *Ongles bleus, Jacques et Ciompi* (Paris, 1970), 107-114.

property, which were carried out by imperial officials. There are, most important for our purposes, *praktika*, or inventories of the possessions of laymen and ecclesiastics.

The surviving *praktika* are of various kinds, the most useful among them being those inventories which list all of the elements making up the possessions of a landlord: the land, its revenues, the peasant families with their possessions and the taxes they pay to the landlord, and all other seigniorial rents.¹¹ In these documents, the peasant household is carefully described; the head of the family or household appears first, followed by the name of the wife—if the head of the household is a man—the names of their children, in-laws, and other co-resident relatives. The list of possessions of the peasants is more or less complete, depending on the document and on the assessor; but usually, land possessions, animals, vineyards, gardens, fruit trees, beehives, sometimes houses, boats, and mills are listed. Undoubtedly there are errors in these lists, and indeed it is possible to document some of them. It is also possible that the information gathered by the assessors was not entirely accurate, and that its transcription was subject to errors. Furthermore, the *praktika* were primarily fiscal documents, drawn up so that the landlord and the state would have an accurate record of the landlord's revenues; the researcher should be careful in using them for other than fiscal purposes. Despite these strictures, it is evident that these sources give unique and precious documentation, allowing us to study the structure of peasant society at given moments and to discern the social, economic, and demographic trends over time.

The bulk of the documentation is limited by chronological, geographic, and social factors. There are some *praktika* describing monastic possessions in Asia Minor in the first half of the thirteenth century.¹² But most of Asia Minor was lost to the Byzantines in the late thirteenth and early four-

¹¹ Ostrogorskij, *Féodalité*, 259ff.

¹² F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca medii aevi*, iv, 5–18 (Vare), vi, 214ff. (Kos).

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teenth centuries, and in the European possessions of the Byzantine Empire the documentation begins in the late thirteenth century. The first major *apographe* or assessment took place in the years 1300–1301; thereafter, there were major *apographai* in the years 1316–1318, 1320–1321, 1338–1341, and sporadic assessments in the intervening years. After the middle of the fourteenth century, the assessments stop, probably because of the instability and the political decline of the state; they reappear briefly in the early fifteenth century. Thus, the bulk of the documentation for the European possessions of the Byzantine Empire covers the period from the late thirteenth to the mid-fourteenth century.

Geographically, the documentation is limited to Macedonia, specifically the area between the rivers Axios (Vardar) and Strymon (Struma), and extending north to include Strumitsa and its environs. There are some fourteenth-century *praktika* from Lemnos, but they are of limited number and usefulness. The Lemnos *praktika*, on the contrary, become very important in the fifteenth century.

Finally, the documentation is biased in social terms also. The vast majority of surviving *praktika* concerns the property of monasteries or of foundations which later became monastic, and most of them have been preserved in the archives of the monasteries of Mount Athos. Only a very small number of *praktika* refer to the possessions of laymen, and these have only survived because the possessions in question later were incorporated into monastic estates.¹³

¹³ The extant lay *praktika* known to me are the following: For Michael Monomachos, in Regel-Kurtz-Korablev, *Zographou*, no. xxix; for Manouel Berilas, in Schreiner, "Zwei unedierte Praktika," 42–46. On the date of this *praktikon*, see N. Oikonomidès, "Notes sur un praktikon de pronioaire (Juin 1323)," *Travaux et Mémoires*, Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 5 (1973), 335–346. The *praktikon* for Ioannes Margarites, in P. Lemerle, "Un praktikon inédit des archives de Karakala (Janvier 1342) et la situation en Macédoine orientale au moment de l'usurpation de Cantacuzène," *Χαριστήριον εις 'Αναστάσιον Κ. 'Ορλάνδου*, 1 (Athens, 1965), 278–298 and two unpublished *praktika* for Michael Saventzes and

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The reason for this bias is simple. During the period of political instability, and during the long centuries of Turkish occupation, the church was the only institution which remained relatively undisturbed in its possessions, and the only institution which had the physical capability of preserving these documents, precious because they established the monastic claims to specific pieces of land.

For the same reason, the documentation which survives in the monastic archives deals almost exclusively with dependent peasants, *paroikoi*. If a free, independent, landowning peasant did exist in this period, he is virtually invisible, and he is certainly invisible in the *praktika*. A question may arise concerning the social position of the poorest of the "soldiers," whose revenues make them seem comparable to the richer dependent peasants, and whose independence was precarious.¹⁴ But even if one sees in this category representatives of a free peasantry rather than of the lowest rank of the ruling class, it may be seen that this category of landowners was under pressure, and tended to diminish in numbers in the course of the fourteenth century. Thus, although by definition the information included in the *praktika* refers to dependent peasants, it is most probable that the great bulk of the peasantry of the late Byzantine Empire did in fact consist of dependent peasants, and thus lived in conditions similar to those which emerge from the documentation.

The fact that most of the *praktika* describe *monastic* possessions and *monastic* dependent peasants raises some questions regarding the wider applicability of the information gleaned from these sources. In other words, it is possible that the peasants who depended from lay proprietors lived and worked under different conditions than those who depended from monastic landlords. Indeed, the few extant

Nikolaos Maroules, preserved in the archives of the monastery of Xenophon.

¹⁴ Cf. *supra*, n. 3 and *infra*, Chapter V.

PROBLEM AND METHOD

lay *praktika* show that on the average the *paroikoi* of lay proprietors tended to own more property than did monastic *paroikoi*. Thus, the economic conditions of the two groups of peasants may differ, and so may their relations with their landlords. Thus the conclusions concerning the economic condition of the peasant household and social relations between *paroikos* and landlord may indeed be limited to monasteries and their *paroikoi* and may not extend to lay landlords and their peasants. It must, however, be remembered that the extant lay *praktika* of the late period refer solely to the properties and possessions of that middle group of landlords who served in the army and whose annual revenues reached up to 80 *hyperpyra*. The condition of their peasants must have differed not only from that of monastic *paroikoi*, but also from that of the *paroikoi* of the great lay proprietors, who possessed vast estates. Although it cannot be documented, it is my thought that social relations between large lay landlords and their peasants approximated those between monastic landlords and their peasants rather than those between smaller landlords and their *paroikoi*. I would therefore argue that the conclusions reached in this study on the basis of monastic *praktika* probably extend to the dependent peasants of great landlords as well, although perhaps not to the dependent peasants of smaller landlords.

In summary, it must be said that the bulk of the documentation covers Macedonia in the late thirteenth to mid-fourteenth centuries, is limited to monastic estates, and is of a fiscal nature. A very strict interpretation of the documents would emphasize these limitations. On the other hand, much economic, demographic, and social information can be gleaned from these fiscal documents. I suggest that the great majority of dependent peasants throughout the dwindling possessions of the Byzantine Empire—which include at various times Thessaly, the Despotate of the Morea, and various islands as well as a rapidly disintegrating part of Asia Minor—lived in conditions similar to those of the

PROBLEM AND METHOD

monastic *paroikoi* of Macedonia. Even the serfs of the Latin possessions in the Morea, for whom there is some information, lived and worked in conditions which combined Byzantine and western feudal practices. Thus, the conclusions reached from a study of monastic *paroikoi* have wider application than the strictly defined geographical area which is covered by the sources.

Starting with the premise that the information given in the *praktika*, although originally serving fiscal purposes, can be used by the historian in a variety of ways, this book tries to analyze peasant society in the late Byzantine period, the period of rapid feudalization. The second chapter deals with the village, which was the basic unit of settlement, and discusses relations between the landlord and the village as a unit. Subsequent chapters discuss social arrangements within peasant society: the family and the network of relationships, the formation of names. The peasant household is then examined as an economic unit, and in its dialectic relationship with the landlord. The last two chapters deal with demographic trends during the period covered by the documentation, and suggest that in demographic as in economic terms the peasant class was suffering a decline long before the worst external catastrophies struck Macedonia.

While the study deals with the entire Macedonian peasantry for which there is documentation, it has on occasion seemed useful to focus on a single village, either in order to illustrate a particular point or in order to point out that the overall picture does not necessarily describe conditions as they existed in reality in a specific village. For this purpose the village of Gomatou has been chosen. It is a village of fairly large size, but not as large as Radolivous, for example, which was really a town. Its territory comprised a typical mixture of arable land, pastures, gardens, and vineyards. The land and the peasants were divided between two monasteries, Lavra and Iveron, so that it is possible to see whether a particular landlord influenced the economic and

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demographic conditions of the *paroikoi*. And finally, although for the domain of Lavra the information from *praktika* stops in 1321, for the domain of Iveron there is also information from the *apographe* of 1341, so that part at least of the village may be studied from 1300 to 1341.

It will be immediately evident that both the type of documentation and the nature of the problems as stated above necessitate a certain dependence upon quantitative analysis. The number of households which appear on the several *apographai* is great, extending into the thousands. For each one of these cases, there is information about the size and composition of the household, the social position of the *paroikos*, his various kinds of property, and the tax he pays. In a study of this kind, one is interested in the general condition of the peasantry, and not so much in individual cases. General phenomena and trends can only be discovered by the study of large numbers of cases. Indeed, most historians who have, up to this point, dealt with the history of the Byzantine peasantry in this period of relatively heavy documentation, have found it necessary to transcend, in some way, individual documents, and to deal with a large bulk of documents or cases.¹⁵ Fortunately, in the last few years the historian has acquired the aid of the computer which has much facilitated even the simple tasks of counting and finding averages. More complicated analysis, which depends upon discovering the correlation between two or more variables, makes the use of the computer almost mandatory.

The computer has already been used as an aid in the study of the Byzantine peasantry, and most particularly

¹⁵ Cf., for example, Ostrogorskij, *Féodalité*, 259ff., Hvastova, *Osobennosti, passim*; D. Jacoby, "Phénomènes de démographie rurale à Byzance aux XIII^e, XIV^e et XV^e siècles," *Etudes rurales*, 5-6 (1962), 163-186 and N. Kondov, "Demographische Notizien über die Landbevölkerung aus dem Gebiet des Unteren Strymon in der ersten Hälfte des XIV Jahrhunderts," *Etudes Balkaniques*, 2-3 (1965), 261-272, and "Za broja na naselenieto v B'lgarija k'm kraja na XIV v.," *Istoricheski Pregled*, 24 (1968), 65-69.

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of the peasants' fiscal relations with their landlord.¹⁶ It must be admitted that it is in this type of analysis that the use of the computer is least debatable. For here one is dealing with exclusively quantitative data, which are uniquely suited to quantitative analysis. However, the computer has other uses too. It provides, at the flick of a button, the means, medians, modes and standard deviations of all variables. From that, one may proceed to discover the distribution of property, for example, and changes in this distribution over time. Or one may isolate subgroups of data, such as households which appear on more than one *apographé*, examine their structure, and compare it with that of households which appear only once and then disappear. It is possible to study the structure and wealth of simple and extended households, and to make comparisons between the two groups. It is possible to see clearly how much poorer than the average peasant was that group of peasants called *eleutheroi* ("free"), whose freedom consisted in that, at a certain moment, they were not inscribed on any *praktikon*. It is possible to study correlations even among non-quantitative variables, such as the type of household and the age of its head. Finally, it is possible to analyze demographic phenomena, and to isolate the various factors at work, differentiating between natural movements of population and migration patterns.

Useful though the computer is as a tool, one should always be aware of its limitations. The accuracy of the results is often deceptive; for the results depend upon the information given the computer, and this information is subject to at least two types of errors: the errors contained in the document and the errors made by the modern student. When the latter are errors of transcription, they may be discounted; they do not bias the information in any sys-

¹⁶ Cf. Hovostova, *Osobennosti*, and Jacques Lefort, "Fiscalité médiévale et informatique: Recherche sur les barèmes pour l'imposition des paysans byzantins au XIV^e siècle," *Revue historique*, 512 (1974), 315-354.

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tematic way, and they do not significantly affect the final outcome, when one is dealing with large numbers of cases. Errors of interpretation and errors in the use of the quantitative method are more serious, and can easily be made if one does not have a thorough knowledge of statistics. For this reason, I have been rather conservative in my use of quantitative analysis, limiting it to fairly safe processes. The techniques I have used are, primarily, simple correlation and simple and multiple regression. Further research may extend the analytical tools and venture into more complicated, and perhaps more illuminating, processes.

The use of quantitative methods, whether with a computer or not, does not negate the more traditional method of research, textual analysis. After all, our knowledge of this period rests on the texts, and the value of all analysis depends upon the correct reading and evaluation of the texts. Much of the discussion in this study is based upon the more traditional method. Furthermore, the *praktika* themselves, before they can become the subject of quantitative analysis, have to be studied individually, dated, and examined for mistakes made by the *apographeis*. Fortunately, the majority of *praktika* have already been published and dated.¹⁷ With the unpublished *praktika* which were kindly furnished to me by Professor Lemerle, I have used the provisional dating given by the researchers at the Collège de France or occasionally given my own tentative dating. My correction of errors made by the *apographeus* has been rather limited. I have simply corrected obvious errors, such as two different renderings of the same name in two different *apographai*. A recent study has made more serious corrections to the information given by the *praktika*, but for our purposes this has seemed unnecessary.¹⁸

¹⁷ A number of important *praktika*, with their dates, are listed in Ostrogorskij, *Féodalité*, 262–286. The major publication not used by Ostrogorskij is F. Dölger's "Sechs Byzantinische Praktika des 14. Jh. für das Athoskloster Iberon," *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-historische Klasse*, N.F., 28 (1949).

¹⁸ Lefort, "Fiscalité médiévale," 323ff.

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In the first part of the bibliography, the reader will find a list of all the *praktika* which were used in this study. The main sample, however, does not include all the *praktika*, but a selection of them. The main sample is constituted of 1547 cases, and the following *praktika* and villages:

1. Monastery of Iveron, villages Gomatou, Melintziani, Ierissos, Kato Volvos, and Xylorygion, from the *apographai* of 1301, 1320, 1341.¹⁹

2. Monastery of Lavra, villages Gomatou, Ierissos, Selas, Gradista, and Metalin, from the *apographe* of 1300. Gomatou, Selas, Gradista, Metalin, Gournai, Aghia Euphemia, Sarantarea, Pinsson, Karvaioi, Skelochorion, Panaghia, Neochorion, Krya Pegadia, Paschali, Genna, Loroton, from the *apographe* of 1321.²⁰

3. Monastery of Xenophon, village Stomion, from the *apographai* of 1300, 1320, 1338; villages Psalidofourna-Neakitou and Ierissos, from the *apographai* of 1320, 1338.²¹

4. Monastery of Zographou, villages Ierissos and Symeon, from the *apographai* of 1300, 1320; villages Ano Volvos and Epano Antigonía, from the *apographe* of 1320.²²

5. Monastery of Chilandar, villages Leipsochorion and Evnouchou, from the *apographe* of 1318.²³

The main sample consists entirely of monastic estates; the few *praktika* referring to lay possessions were examined separately. The main sample was drawn up with a view toward diversity on the one hand, and on the other with a conscious effort to include as much information as possible

¹⁹ Dölger, "Sechs Praktika," *Praktika A*, P, V.

²⁰ Unpublished *praktika* of 1300 and 1321, Collège de France, nos. II, 91 and 109.

²¹ L. Petit, *Actes de Xénophon, Vizantiiskij Vremennik*, 10 (1903), appendix I, nos. 3, 7, 11.

²² Regel-Kurtz-Korablev, *Zographou*, nos. xv, xvii. For the dates, cf. Ostrogorskij, *Féodalité*, 266-271.

²³ L. Petit, *Actes de Chilandar*, I, *Actes grecs, Vizantiiskij Vremennik*, 17 (1911), appendix I, no. 38; on the date, cf. Ostrogorskij, *Féodalité*, 273.

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from the *apographe* of 1338–1341, for which the smallest number of *praktika* is extant. Thus, monasteries with large estates, such as Lavra and Iveron, were included along with monasteries which had smaller possessions, such as Zographou and Xenophon. Some villages from the great *praktikon* of Lavra of 1321 were not included, since there is already a great deal of information from that *apographe*. The *praktika* of the monastery of Xeropotamou are too fragmentary to be of real value in this sample. The *praktika* of the monastery of Esphigmenou, although they are discussed in the text, were not included in the main sample primarily for the technical reason that by the time the new edition of M. Lefort was published, the main sample had already been drawn up. In any case, these *praktika* date from 1300, 1318, and 1321, and for all of these dates there is sufficient information from other sources. Finally, it will be seen that all the villages and hamlets in the main sample were situated in the theme of Thessaloniki. There are several *praktika* which cover villages in the theme of Strymon, the most useful being the two *praktika* from the monastery of Iveron, published by Dölger.²⁴ These have been analyzed separately, for no reason other than that of geographic uniformity in the main sample.

Each entry in the *praktika* consists of a household which formed a fiscal unit; I have taken each such household as one case. The last name of the head of household has been transcribed according to a Soundex code, and first names have also been codified.²⁵ The names are used for purposes

²⁴ Dölger, "Sechs Praktika," *Praktika* RK (1316) and RV (1341). Other *praktika* relating to the theme of Strymon include: An undated *praktikon* from the archives of Iveron, probably dating from 1320: no. 43 of the Collège de France. An undated *praktikon* from the archives of Vatopedi, no. 334 of the Collège de France. A *praktikon* for the monastery of Chilandar, published in Petit, *Chilandar*, no. 39 (1318). Three *praktika* for the monastery of Lavra (1317, 1336) including the villages Doxompous and Prinaron: Collège de France, nos. II, 103, 105, 138.

²⁵ The Soundex code used for transcribing last names works as follows: the first letter of each name is transcribed in the Latin

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of identification, and appear first on every computer card. There follow 63 variables, giving the following information:

1. Year of the *apographe*.
2. Identification of the settlement, village, or hamlet.

alphabet, and is followed by three numbers, corresponding to the first three consonants, and having a value ascribed by the researcher. For purposes of transcription, the following equivalences have been used:

<i>Greek Alphabet</i>	<i>Latin Alphabet</i>	<i>Greek Alphabet</i>	<i>Latin Alphabet</i>	<i>Greek Alphabet</i>	<i>Latin Alphabet</i>
Α	A	Κ	K	Σ	S
Β	V	Λ	L	Τ	T
Γ	G	Μ	M	Υ	Y
Δ	D	ΜΡ	B	Φ	F
Ε	E	Ν	N	Χ	H
Ζ	Z	Ξ	X	Ψ	J
Η	I	Ο	O	Ω	W
Θ	D	Π	P		
Ι	I	Ρ	R		

The following numerical values have been ascribed to groups of consonants:

- | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|------|
| 1. Β, Π, ΜΠ, Φ, Ψ | 4. Σ, Ζ, ΤΣ, ΤΖ | 7. Θ |
| 2. Γ, Κ, ΓΚ, Χ, Ξ | 5. Μ, Ν | |
| 3. Δ, Τ, ΝΤ | 6. Λ, Ρ | |

First names have been given the following numerical values:

<i>Male</i>	17 Alexios	32 Eudokia
1 Nikolaos	18 Xenos	33 Zoranna
2 Georgios	19 Stefanos	34 Tobranna or Tobritza
3 Konstantinos	20 Other	35 Merzanna
4 Ioannes	<i>Female</i>	36 Stania
5 Vasileios	21 Maria	37 Velkonkia
6 Demetrios	22 Anna	38 Vasilike
7 Michael	23 Zoe	39 Ioanna
8 Manouel	24 Arete	40 Kyriakia
9 Modestos	25 Eleni	41 Rossana, Rossa
10 Theodoros	26 Chryse, Argyre	42 Siligno
11 Nikeforos	27 Kale	43 Komana
12 Theotokios	28 Georgia	44 Sofia
13 Kyriakos	29 Theodora	45 Foteine
14 Foteinos	30 Eirene	46 Theofano
15 Athanasios	31 Xene	50 Other
16 Petros		

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3. Village time-series forward; that is, whether the village appears in any subsequent *apographe*.
4. Village time-series back, that is, appearance of the village in any previous *apographe*.
5. Identification of monastery.
6. Serial number of the household in the *praktikon*.
7. Type of household (simple or various kinds of extended family).
8. Description of head of household: man, widow, single woman, brothers together.
9. Age of the head of household.²⁶
10. Relationship between the household and other households.
11. Number of households to which the household is related.
12. Household size.
13. Household time-series forward.
14. Household time-series back.
15. Number of male members.
16. Number of female members.
17. Number of ever-married males.
18. Number of ever-married females.
19. Number of old members.²⁶
20. Number of members in the middle age category.²⁶
21. Number of young males.²⁶
22. Number of young females.²⁶
23. Male offspring per couple of the generation which first appears in a *praktikon*.
24. Male offspring per couple of the children of Variable 23.
25. Male offspring per couple of the grandchildren of Variable 23.
26. Female offspring per couple of the generation which first appears in a *praktikon*.
27. Female offspring per couple of the children of Variable 26.

²⁶ For a discussion of age, see *infra*, chapter VII.

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28. Female offspring per couple of the grandchildren of Variable 26.

29. Name of head of household denoting profession.

30. Name of head of household denoting ethnic or geographical origin.

31. Head of household identified by nickname.

32. Head of household identified only by baptismal name and relationship to someone else.

33. Head of household identified by baptismal name only.

34. Vineyards, in *modioi*.

35. Gardens, in *modioi*.

36. Arable land, in *modioi*.

37. Number of almond trees.

38. Number of fig trees.

39. Number of mulberry trees.

40. Number of walnut trees.²⁷

41. Number of other fruit trees and olive trees.

42. Number of vines.

43. Number of donkeys.²⁸

44. Number of mules.

45. Number of horses.

46. Number of *voidia*.²⁹

47. Number of pigs.

48. Number of sheep and goats.

49. Number of houses, if specifically stated in the *praktikon*.

²⁷ I had originally coded Variables 37 through 41 as single-figure variables. After I had coded a considerable number of entries, I found some households which owned more than 9 fig trees, or mulberry trees, or walnut trees. Since a great deal of work would be required to recode all the households, I used variables 37 through 41 interchangeably, so that, for example, a household with 17 walnut trees will appear as owning 9 walnut trees and 8 cherry trees. Variables 37 through 41, therefore, should be taken as referring to all fruit trees, indiscriminately.

²⁸ The young of horses, donkeys, and mules have been counted as half an animal.

²⁹ The *praktika* speak of *voidia* and *zeugaria*. For the meaning of these terms, insofar as it may not be limited to one and two oxen, see *infra*, chapters II and V.

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50. Tax, in *hyperpyra*.
51. Number of mills.
52. Number of cows.³⁰
53. Identification of name of head of household as Slavic or non-Slavic.
54. Identification of head of household as replacing another on the *stasis* (*ἀντίσηκος*).
55. Identification of head of household as *eleutheros* or not.
56. Number of "old" couples or truncated "old" couples.
57. Number of couples or truncated couples of the middle age category.
58. Number of sons, children of Variable 56, resident on the household.
59. Number of sons, children of Variable 57, resident on the household.
60. Number of daughters, children of Variable 56, resident on the household.
61. Number of daughters, children of Variable 57, resident on the household.
62. Number of beehives.
63. Identification of head of household as *hypostatikos* or not.

Much of the quantitative analysis is based on the main sample as described above.³¹ In the text, where no other

³⁰ A calf is counted as half a cow.

³¹ Reference to individual households is made by monastery, village, date of the *praktikon*, and serial number of the household in the *praktikon* (supplied by the author): for example, Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 1, identifies the first household which appears in the *praktikon* for the monastery of Iveron, village Gomatou, in 1301. The *praktikon* for Lavra, 1300, contains a *lacuna* in the description of the monastery's possessions in the village Gomatou. I have calculated that the *lacuna* involves approximately 32 households. This calculation was made on the empirical assumptions that a. the distribution of time-series households is uniform in a *praktikon* (except toward the end of the description of the possessions of a village, where many non-time-series households are bunched) and b. the

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identification of the sample under discussion is made, it may be assumed that the information refers to the main sample. However, it will be seen that information is drawn from many other *praktika*, which are analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively, and that documents other than *praktika*, as well as narrative and legislative sources, have been used. Quantitative information alone is useless; it helps one to form a picture of a society, but it has to be interpreted in the light of all other information pertaining to that society before it can yield historically significant and reasonable results. In other words, although the quantitative method is used in this study, it is not and cannot be sufficient for an understanding of Byzantine peasant society of this period. Its efficacy depends upon the use of non-quantitative and non-quantifiable sources.

serial placement of the time-series households of a village did not differ from one *praktikon* to another. The *praktikon* for Lavra, 1321, includes 29 households in the place where the *lacuna* occurs in the *praktikon* of 1300. Using the ratio of time-series to total households appearing in the *praktikon* before the *lacuna*, we find that 25 of these households must descend from households present in 1300, and that the total number of households occupying the space in which the *lacuna* occurs was 31 or 32.

CHAPTER II

The Village

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

THE Byzantine themes of Thessaloniki and Strymon covered a large part of the present-day *nomoi* of Thessaloniki, Chalkidike, Aghion Oros, Serres, and Kavalla. Within these two themes, there were a number of villages which belonged, entirely or in part, to the monasteries of Mount Athos and whose inhabitants were in some way attached to the monasteries. The sources permit us to examine south-eastern Macedonia, defined by the rivers Axios (Vardar) and Nestos (Mesta), and extending as far north as Strumitsa. The majority of the data comes from a smaller area, extending between the Galikos River in the west and the Strymon (Struma) River in the east.

The geographical area with which we are dealing formed a large and economically valuable part of Byzantine Macedonia. The valleys of the Strymon and the Nestos and parts of the peninsula of Chalkidike are still very fertile. Modern observers attest that these river valleys are two of the richest in present-day Greece, being capable of feeding a large population if they are properly cultivated. As far as the economy of the late Byzantine Empire was concerned, this area was very important. Asia Minor, rich in terms of agricultural production, had been almost entirely lost; Thrace produced good wheat, "the best grain of Romania," according to Pegolotti,¹ but was unproductive for long

¹ Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. Allan Evans (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), p. 42. It was specifically the wheat of Rodosto which he called "il migliore grano di Romania."

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stretches of time, because of the Catalan wars and the civil strife. Thessaly and Macedonia remained as the two major agricultural areas of the Byzantine Empire in the fourteenth century.²

Southern Macedonia had a varied terrain and a varied climate. Geographically, the area is distinguished by the presence of plateaus and flood plains. The Doiran-Strymon trough, especially its eastern part which extends south from the Belashitsa mountains and essentially follows the course of the Strymon, is the most fertile part of southern Macedonia, although it encompasses several swampy areas which are uncultivable except after drainage.³ The area west of the Strymon basin consists of two peneplains with altitudes from 320 to 720 meters, of flood valleys, lakes and river basins (the Langadha-Volvos trough and the valley of the Galikos River). This structure of the terrain causes considerable variation in both habitation and cultivation. Agriculture, the most important overall economic activity, is practiced on the flatlands and low ridges of the plateaus, and is combined with pasture on the higher areas of the plateaus. The cultivation of the vine is also important, and can be practiced even on lands not amenable to grain

² A *Handbook of Macedonia and Surrounding Territories*, comp. the Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, Naval Staff, Admiralty (London, H. M. Stationary Office), 351; Alan G. Ogilvie, "Physiography and Settlements in Southern Macedonia," *The Geographical Review*, 11 (1921), 195, says that with scientific agriculture the Struma (Strymon) plain, the richest in Macedonia, could support 500 people per square kilometer, instead of the 217 it was supporting in his day. On the disruption of the agriculture of Thrace due to the Catalan campaign of 1304-1307, see A. E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins; The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II (1282-1328)*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), chs. v-vi; and D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium 1261-1453* (London, 1972), chs. 7-8. On the civil wars of the 1320's, see Ursula V. Bosch, *Kaiser Andronikos III. Palaiologos. Versuch einer Darstellung der byzantinischen Geschichte in den Jahren 1321-1341*, Amsterdam, 1965.

³ Ogilvie, "Southern Macedonia," 173-180; P. Birot and J. Dresch, *La Méditerranée et le Moyen-Orient*, II (Paris, 1956), 47.

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cultivation. The natural vegetation encourages bee-keeping. The lakes and swampy regions, although poor agricultural lands, are rich in fish, so that fishing is an important secondary occupation now, as it was in the fourteenth century.⁴

The contemporary climate of southern Macedonia is also varied, exhibiting traits of both the Mediterranean and the Continental types. The Mediterranean climate is characterized by hot and dry summers and mild winters with the heaviest rainfall occurring in the spring and autumn. The Continental climate proper has cold winters, hot summers, and a generally high level of rainfall.⁵ While the coasts of southern Macedonia and the Chalkidike possess a Mediterranean climate, the interior forms a transitory zone between the Mediterranean and the Continental climatic types. Here the winters are cold but brief, the summers are long and hot, and the rainy season, which is relatively short, comes in the spring and fall, with the heaviest rainfall occurring in the fall.⁶ The climatic frontier can be said to follow roughly the limits of olive cultivation, which exists along the coastline of Macedonia and Chalkidike, but does not extend inland, since the cold winters do not allow the olive tree to survive.⁷

These observations bear on the modern climate of Macedonia and cannot automatically be extended to the fourteenth century. Climate does change, and there are theories which use climatic changes to explain important economic, demographic, and social developments. In particular, the profound economic and social changes in Western Europe

⁴ A. P. Každan, *Agrarnye otnošenija v Vizantii XIII–XIV vv.* (Moscow, 1952), 46–52; I. Sakazov, *Bulgarische Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, in *Grundriss der slavischen Philologie und Kulturgeschichte* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1929), 31–40, 102–111; Ogilvie, "Southern Macedonia," 191.

⁵ Birot and Dresch, *La Méditerranée*, I, 45; Juan Papadakis, *Climates of the World and Their Agricultural Potentialities* (Buenos Aires, 1966), Tables 3.5, 5b, 6.7.

⁶ Birot and Dresch, *La Méditerranée*, II, 57; *Handbook of Macedonia*, 43–63.

⁷ Birot and Dresch, *La Méditerranée*, I, 69–71, 79.

in the fourteenth century have in part been ascribed to a colder climate.⁸ Therefore, one is faced with the possibility that the Macedonian climate in the fourteenth century may have been significantly different from the modern one, and that the difference may have been such as to create radically different conditions for agriculture and even for human habitation. While this theoretical possibility exists, what little information we have from the sources does not indicate a radical transformation of the climate of Macedonia. Winters in the interior were very cold, then as now. In late November, 1298, the roads between Constantinople and Thessaloniki were almost impassable because of the deep snow. In February of the following year, the ice had not yet melted in Thrace; it took the Emperor Andronikos II over a month (March 8 to ca. April 19) to reach Thessaloniki from Selymvria.⁹ Furthermore, what we know of the agricultural calendar of the Byzantine period is consistent with the climatic structure of Macedonia and Thrace as we know it today. For example, then as now, wheat was sown in late October or early November, when the heavy autumnal rains had softened the ground.¹⁰

As for plant cultivation in the fourteenth century, it seems to be comparable with that of today although, of course, there are crops today which did not exist then: tobacco forms one of the main cash crops of modern Macedonia but was unknown in the fourteenth century and rice, another important modern crop, while known in the four-

⁸ F. Braudel, "Histoire et sciences sociales: la longue durée," *Annales (Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations)*, 13 (1958), 725-753; G. Utterström, "Climate Fluctuations and Population Problems in Early Modern History," *The Scandinavian Economic History* 3 (1955), 3-47; M. Mollat, P. Johansen, M. M. Postan, A. Saporì, Ch. Verlinden, "L'économie européenne aux deux derniers siècles du Moyen Age," *Congrès international des sciences historiques*, Rome, 1955, vi, *Relazioni generali*, 803-957.

⁹ K. N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, I (Venice, 1872), 158-162.

¹⁰ J. Bompaire, *Actes de Xéropotamou* (Paris, 1964), no. 9, p. 81; Michael Psellos, *Περὶ Γεωργικῶν*, in J. Fr. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca e codicibus regijs*, I (Paris, 1829), 242.

teenth century,¹¹ does not appear in the documents. Since the limits of olive cultivation are used today to determine the dividing line between the Mediterranean and the Continental climatic zones, they can also help us determine whether the climate of Macedonia was significantly different in the fourteenth century from what it is today. A Byzantine treatise of the eleventh century connects olive cultivation with distance from the sea: "Olive trees do not grow at a distance further than 300 stadia from the sea, and for this reason lands which are situated at a greater distance from the sea have no olive trees."¹² In fact, it is not distance from the sea, but the colder winters of the Continental climate which limit olive cultivation in Macedonia. In our day, the limit of olive cultivation begins north of the peninsula of the Chalkidike.¹³ The fourteenth-century *praktika* do occasionally mention olive trees in the Chalkidike, but the number of such trees is negligible. This fact might suggest a somewhat colder climate in the fourteenth century, but the difference is not likely to have been very great, especially given the presence of fig trees, which require a warm climate.¹⁴

Macedonian agriculture was characterized by polyculture in the fourteenth century, as it is today. Wheat and barley were the main crops on which people and animals lived and on which the fortunes of the landlords were based. So much was grain a source of wealth, that Andronikos II created an extraordinary tax on wheat and barley (*sitokrithon*) to help him meet the great expenses which he had incurred because of the Catalan campaign and the loss

¹¹ Symeon Seth, *Syntagma de alimentorum facultatibus*, ed. B. Langkavel (Leipzig, 1868), 75.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 39: "αἱ δὲ ἐλαῖαι οὐ πλείω τριακοσίων σταδίων τῆς θαλάττης πόρρωθεν γίνονται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αἱ περαιτέρω τοῦ τοιούτου διαστήματος ἀπέχουσαι τῆς θαλάττης χῶραι ἐλαιῶν ἀποροῦσιν."

¹³ Birot and Dresch, *La Méditerranée*, I, p. 89, fig. 9.

¹⁴ Papadakis, *Climates of the World*, Table 6.69; N. K. Kondov, "Ovoshcharstvoto v B'lgarskite zemi prez srednovekovieto," *Akademija na selskostopanskite Nauki* (Sofia, 1969), 5-63.

of Asia Minor.¹⁵ A representative list of the grains cultivated in the plains and valleys of Macedonia is given in the will of Theodore Skaranos, dated 1270–1274. Among other products of his lands, Skaranos mentions wheat, barley, rye (βρίζα), vetch (ρόβη = ὄροβος), dark summer wheat (μαυραγάνη = μελαναθήρη), millet (κεχρίν).¹⁶ Millet was used mostly for animals, although Symeon Seth says that poor people would mix it with milk and eat it.¹⁷ Vetch was eaten primarily by oxen, oats were primarily used for animals, barley was used both for fodder and for bread, and wheat was made into best quality bread.¹⁸

Other products of the Macedonian countryside also appear in the sources. A document of the early fifteenth century, referring to a large truck garden in the area near Thessaloniki, shows that the garden produced cabbage, leeks, carrots, garlic, onions, courgettes, melons, and cucumbers.¹⁹ Legumes were also cultivated, both in the fields, as part of the two-field system of cultivation which was probably practiced in Macedonia, and, one assumes, in the gardens which a majority of the peasants owned.²⁰ Fruit trees were common: pear trees, fig trees, walnut trees,

¹⁵ Georgii Pachymeres, *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis libri tredecim*, ed. Emmanuel Bekker, II (Bonn, 1835), 493. On the *sitokrithon* see also J. Bompaire, "Sur trois termes de fiscalité byzantine," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 80 (1956), 630–631, and K. V. Hvostova, *Osobennosti agrarnopravovykh otnošenii v pozdnei Vizantii XIV–XV vv.* (Moscow, 1968), 260.

¹⁶ Bompaire, *Xéropotamou*, no. 9, p. 81.

¹⁷ Symeon Seth, *Syntagma*, 137–138.

¹⁸ Symeon Seth, *Syntagma*, 134, 137, 18; Bompaire, *Xéropotamou*, 80–81. On cereals used for bread, see Ph. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, V (Athens, 1952), 21ff. Monasteries would give people what they considered the necessities of life, i.e. wheat, wine and legumes: P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, D. Papachryssanthou, *Actes de Lavra, Ière partie, des origines à 1204* (Paris, 1970), nos. 27, 54.

¹⁹ F. Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges* (Munich, 1948), 266.

²⁰ N. K. Kondov, "K voprosu o sisteme polevodstva v bolgarskikh i sosednih s nimi zemljah Balkanskogo poluoostrova v srednie veka," *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, 20 (1961), 12–13.

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cherry trees, almond trees and mulberry trees appear in large numbers in some of the *praktika*. The peasants of the village of Gomatou, situated in a small plain in eastern Chalkidike, owned large numbers of fruit trees.²¹ This is characteristic of the Mediterranean climate, although the absence of the olive and the abundance of pear trees and walnut trees is an aspect of the Continental influence on the climate of Macedonia.²² The cultivation of the vine was also widespread. Most peasant households owned vineyards in plots of various sizes. Wine played an important role in the monastic economy, and monasteries sold it in large quantities.²³

In general, then, the crops and plants of southern Macedonia were much the same in the fourteenth century as today. Grain crops predominated, but the geography and the climate of the area facilitated a diversified rural economy. In the *praktika* we find evidence of the polyculture which characterizes the Macedonian economy.²⁴ Alongside agriculture, the peasants engaged in pasture, viticulture, fruit tree cultivation, and owned beehives. In the marshlands and the peneplains, sheep and goats were put to pasture; the peasants of Gomatou, for example, had fairly large flocks as well as vineyards and gardens. Of course, in this as in the possession of other kinds of property, there was substantial differentiation. The mean of 9 sheep and goats per household in Gomatou (1300-1301), is achieved

²¹ The households which belonged to the domain of Iveron at Gomatou possessed, on the average, 20 trees in 1320. Kondov, "Ovoshcharstvoto," stresses the importance of fruit trees and deduces the existence of sericulture from the presence of mulberry trees. He also claims that some of the fruit was sold, either fresh or after having been dried. He is, however, mostly concerned with the area of the Strymon River and the vicinity of Strumitsa.

²² Birot and Dresch, *La Méditerranée*, I, 137; Ogilvie, "Southern Macedonia," 188-190; Kondov, "Ovoshcharstvoto," 19, 44.

²³ Lemerle, Guillou, Svoronos, Papachryssanthou, *Lavra*, I, nos. 67-68; V. Mošin, "Akti iz svetogorskih arhiva," *Crpska kraljevska Akademija, Spomennik*, 12 (Belgrade, 1939), no. 2.

²⁴ Birot and Dresch, *La Méditerranée*, I, 137-149.

only because 8 of a total of 130 households owned 928 animals; the majority of householders in 1300–1301 as in 1320–1321 owned no flocks. Big landlords had immense flocks; the most striking example is that of John Kantakouzenos, who claimed to have lost in the civil war 70,000 sheep, along with a large number of other animals. The animals moved from summer to winter pastures, and the sources show pasture lands among the imperial donations of land to the monasteries.²⁵

In other areas, fishing assumed an important place in the economy. This was especially the case in villages near the lakes or the Strymon River. The peasants here owned boats, and presumably fishing was the most important secondary activity for them.²⁶ A certain number of peasants owned beehives, so that the bee seems to have been of some importance in the Chalkidike in the fourteenth century, even as it is today.²⁷ Sericulture, an important occupation in modern Macedonia, must have existed in the fourteenth century also, if we are to judge from the relatively frequent mention of mulberry trees (*συκαμινέα*) in the *praktika*.²⁸ Flax was also produced in this area.²⁹ A lot of the land, however, was not cultivated or cultivable. Imperial land donations included a delimitation (*περιορισμός*) of the donated lands. The surviving delimitations of the property of the monasteries show that a lot of land was covered by forests, pre-

²⁵ *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris Historiarum libri IV*, ed. B. G. Niebuhr, II (Bonn, 1831), 184–185, 192; Každan, *Agrarnye otnošenija*, 50.

²⁶ Každan, *Agrarnye otnošenija*, 52; cf. the *praktikon* given to Michael Momomachos, for villages near the Strymon River, where most of the *paroikoi* owned *monoxyla*, that is, boats: W. Regel, E. Kurtz, B. Korablev, *Actes de Zographou, Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, 13 (1907), Appendix, no. 29. Many of the inhabitants of Melintziani, which belonged to Iveron, also owned boats (*sandalia*).

²⁷ Ogilvie, "Southern Macedonia," 191; Každan, *Agrarnye otnošenija*, 51.

²⁸ Birot and Dresch, *La Méditerranée*, II, 77, 79; Kondov, "Ovo-shcharstvoto," 27. Examples of households owning mulberry trees: Iveron, Gomatou, 1320, I, 4.

²⁹ Kondov, "K voprosu o sisteme polevodstva," 13.

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sumably the deciduous forests—oak, beech, chestnut, and pine—which characterize southern Macedonian vegetation today. The oak tree is specifically mentioned in the *praktika*, and usually it appears as standing in the middle of a field or a vineyard. Plane trees are also mentioned.³⁰

The kind of polyculture practiced on the soil of southern Macedonia in the fourteenth century suggests that both the climate and the crop possibilities of the fourteenth century were not significantly different from modern ones, at least as these existed before the arrival and use of agricultural machinery. It also allows us to draw some further conclusions about the conditions in which the peasant lived and worked. Few of the peasant households are shown to have arable land, and the importance of this will be discussed subsequently. Most of them, however, had vineyards and gardens, mostly in small plots (table II-1). Vineyards have sometimes been identified as "best land," but this is not true. While the price of land already planted with vines was much higher than that of the arable, vineyards (like gardens) can be scratched from difficult soil with hand and hoe, and they need no capital equipment like oxen or other cattle.³¹ The peasants, then, seem to have owned those lands which they could cultivate inexpensively, and on which they planted fruit trees as well. The largest part of the arable, on the other hand, was held by the monastic landlord. Thus polyculture does not simply follow from a geographic and climatic pattern, but takes its particular form as a function of the economic and social relations of the countryside. The peasant householder, in his primary

³⁰ For example, in the *periorismos* of the part of Gomatou that belonged to Lavra, and of Develikeia, in 1300: Lavra, Collège de France, II, 90.

³¹ Hvosstova, *Osobennosti*, 131, 133-134; cf. Každan, *Agrarnye otnošenija*, 46-47. On prices of vineyards, see G. Ostrogorsky, "Löhne und Preise in Byzanz," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 32 (1932), 315-316, and Schilbach, *Metrologie*, 60, 64-65. Vineyards sold for an average of 6.3 *hyperpyra* per *modios*, while arable land averaged 0.6 *hyperpyra* per *modios*.

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TABLE II-1

Peasant Ownership of Vineyards and Gardens, Main Sample

<i>Apographe</i>	Number of Households	Vineyards in <i>Modioi</i>			Gardens in <i>Modioi</i>		
		Mean	Mode	Median	Mean	Mode	Median
1300 - 1301	407	1.96	0	1.5	0.6	0	0.05
1320 - 1321	958	3.2	0	2.6	0.3	0	0.02
1338 - 1341	180	1.4	0	1.1	0.7	0	0.04

economic activity, that is the cultivation of grain crops, was in a specific relationship to the landlord: either he cultivated domain lands by labor services, or he rented the land and paid a part of the crops as rent.³² He seems to have exercised immediate control over his secondary activities, that is, viticulture, fruit cultivation, pasture, bee-keeping, fishing, and the raising of small animals like chickens and pigs, which furnished both meat and lard. He paid a tax for the privilege of engaging in some of these activities, but this was a state tax and not, strictly speaking, a part of his economic relationship with his landlord. That is, the peasant was allowed a certain degree of freedom in his secondary agricultural activities.

The general conditions described above played an important role in determining the demographic, economic, and social organization of peasant life. Equally important, however, were local variations not only in the terrain—and so in the agricultural possibilities—but also in the peasant's relation to other peasants and to his landlord. For the peasant lived and worked in economic and social units: the village, the monastic estate, the household, the family. While our primary concern is with the two smaller units, the household and the family, these need to be placed in the larger context, that of the village. Since we are dealing with the dependent peasant, it is necessary to describe his relationship both to the village and to the monastic landlord.

³² Hvostova, *Osobennosti*, 91-111, and *infra*, chapter v.

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The *paroikoi*, with whom we are concerned, and their holdings, formed part of an imperial donation to the monastery, or of an imperial confirmation of monastic possessions. The imperial donations consisted of areas of land, with or without inhabitants, which the monastery was "to hold and exploit," "κατέχειν καὶ νέμεσθαι."³³ Sometimes, peasants were granted to a monastery long after the land donation; these peasants tended to be *eleutheroi*, defined in the documents as "ξένοι . . . καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ ἀνεπίγνωστοι καὶ μὴ ἔντισι πρακτικοῖς καταγεγραμμένοι," that is, "strangers, unknown to the fisc, and not registered in any *praktika*."³⁴

A typical grant is that given by the Emperor Michael VIII to the monastery Esphigmenou in 1258–1259. Attributing his victories against his enemies to the prayers of the monks no less than to the merit of his soldiers, the Emperor wanted to reward the monks as he had rewarded the soldiers, to whom he had given *pronoiai*.³⁵ He confirmed all the possessions of the monastery and added new ones, consisting of arable lands, vineyards, *paroikoi*, and mills. The monastery was confirmed in its possession of half the village of Portarea with all its "rights," that is, *paroikoi*, arable and vineyards. The Emperor then made a new donation of the other half of that village, "with all its possessions, that is, *paroikoi*, arable and vineyards, so that from now on the entire village will be in the possession of the said monastery."³⁶ The revenues which the monastery de-

³³ L. Petit, *Actes de Chilandar*, *Vizantiiskij Vremennik*, 17 (1911), appendix 1, no. 16 (1300); cf. no. 13 (1299).

³⁴ See, for example, Petit, *Chilandar*, no. 20 (1319), p. 45.

³⁵ J. Lefort, *Actes d'Esphigmenou* (Paris, 1973), no. 6. pp. 62–63. Michael VIII is making a word-play, using the word "προνοεῖσθαι" (to provide for someone) to refer to the *pronoiai* he had given to his soldiers. For a similar word-play, see Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, ed. B. Leib (Paris, 1945), xv, 7: vol. III, 216: "Ἄλλὰ τίς ἐξαριθμήσαι τοὺς καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐσθλιοντας ἢ τὴν καθ' ἐκάστην δαπάνην καὶ τὴν γενομένην εἰς ἕκαστον πρόνοιαν . . . ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἀφωρίσατο τὰς ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης αὐτοῖς προνοίας."

³⁶ Lefort, *Esphigmenou*, 63: μετὰ πάσης τῆς κατοχῆς καὶ διακρατήσεως αὐτοῦ τουτέστι παροίκων χωραφίων καὶ ἀμπελώνων ὡς ἂν τὸ ὄλον χωρίον

rived from these donations were twofold: (1) the peasants paid their taxes not to the state but to the monastery; and (2) the monastery was relieved of the taxes which had been levied on the lands, pastures, mills, and other properties involved in the donation.³⁷ The exact revenues involved were established in the *praktika*. In the periodic *apographai* which the government undertook, either on its own initiative or at the request of the monastery, we find not only the precise revenues of the monastery but also the description of the properties and households granted to the monastery.³⁸ It is from these descriptions that we may acquire some information about the peasant village and its relations with the landlord.

Occasionally, imperial grants included, along with the land, a few isolated *paroikoi*. Such is the case of Vasileios Chalkeus and his two sons, who lived in Siderokauseia, and were given to the monastery of Esphigmenou by imperial chrysobull in 1258 or 1259.³⁹ More frequently, however, in this period, there are combined grants of people and land together; more specifically, we frequently have donations of villages, wholly or in part, along with *paroikoi* who lived in the village, as was the case of Portarea, which has already been mentioned.⁴⁰ The *praktika* which we are examining describe in detail the possessions of the monasteries in the various villages, in terms of lands, arable and non-arable, and in terms of the *paroikoi* who inhabited the village and who were a part of the donation.

The term "village" (χωριόν) needs to be discussed and ex-

ἀπό γε τοῦ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς κατέχεται παρὰ τοῦ μέρους τῆς ῥηθείσης μονῆς.

³⁷ Hvastova, *Osobennosti*, 50-71, 235-253.

³⁸ Hvastova, *Osobennosti*, 67-69. Sometimes, the imperial donation itself mentions the *posotes*, the value of the grant. See, for example, Petit, *Chilandar*, no. 8 (1277), and A. Guillou, *Les archives de Saint-Jean Prodrome sur le mont Ménéécée* (Paris, 1955), nos. 7 (1317), 17 (1325).

³⁹ Lefort, *Esphigménou*, no. 6.

⁴⁰ Lefort, *Esphigménou*, no. 6, p. 63.

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plained. It certainly means a settlement, just as the term "village" does today. This fact is perfectly clear from the *periorismoi*, which describe the limits of the village as a geographical entity. The *paroikoi* are mentioned and enumerated as inhabitants of the village, and their properties are most frequently situated within the territory of the village. Occasionally, a *paroikos* might hold land in villages or locations other than his own. Thus, for example, Nikolaos, the brother-in-law of Manouel Kaloutzikos, had one plot of vineyard in his village of Kato Volvos and another in Genna, whereas Ioannes Rouchas, of the village of Gomatou, had arable land in Ierissos, and Vasileios Stankos, a *paroikos* of Lavra in Selas had lands in Arsenikeia, Ptelea, and Ierissos.⁴¹ These were, however, exceptional cases. For the most part, the properties of the *paroikoi* were situated in the territory of the village and, it seems, outside the area where the *paroikoi* lived. Thus, in the description of the properties of the *paroikoi* of Gomatou, a typical entry is: "vineyard of 1 *modios* in Ligrin, near his in-law Vasileios, another at the same place, from dowry, 1.5 *modioi*, another near the last one, 1 *modios*, another at Palaia Ampelia near Yphantas, of 2 *modioi*, another near Ryax . . . of 3 *modioi*."⁴² A large number of *paroikoi* of that village had their plots in the places mentioned in the entry above, that is, at Ligrin, Palaia Ampelia, and Ryax, presumably one of the streams mentioned in the *periorismoi* of 1300 and 1321.⁴³ Typical also is the description of the plots by reference to those of neighbors—in the case mentioned above, the neighbor is Yphantas.

The village of Gomatou, which was a relatively large one in terms of population—it had a known population of 537 in 1320–1321—possessed a fortified enclosure, the *kastron*,

⁴¹ Iveron, 1301, 9; 1320, 3, 9; Lavra, Selas, 1300, 1. For examples of peasant properties situated near the houses of the peasants see Lavra, Selas, 1300, 37, 43, 57, 60, 80; 1321, 5, 9.

⁴² Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 13.

⁴³ Lavra, Collège de France, nos. II, 90 and II, 108.

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where some at least of the *paroikoi* had houses. The majority of peasant houses in the village is not specifically identified as being in the fortified area, the *kastron*. Indeed, some of the entries seem to indicate that the majority of peasant houses was outside the *kastron*, since they specify that certain *paroikoi* had "a house, and another house in the *kastron*," thus presumably indicating that the first house was outside the *kastron*. However, the fact that several *paroikoi* had some kind of building in the fortified area negates the statement that "the lower classes never dwelled on the Acropolis."⁴⁴ Sometimes people had small plots of vineyard or garden near their houses; these, however, were the exception rather than the rule, and the plots thus identified either were small truck gardens or belonged to people who lived on the edge of the village.⁴⁵

The size of these villages, in terms of surface and population, is not easy to estimate accurately. The difficulty stems from the fact that it is not always possible to determine the precise relationship between the village as a place of settlement and the village as monastic holding. Sometimes we know that the village coincided with the holdings of one monastery: this was the case of Portarea, which was granted *in toto* to the monastery of Esphigmenou. In other cases, we know that a village was owned by a number of landlords: Ierissos belonged in part to the monastery of Iveron, in part to the monasteries Xeropotamou, Xenophon, Chilandar, and Zographou, and in 1300 Lavra too had a couple of *paroikoi* there. The village Gomatou belonged to at least two landlords, the monasteries of Iveron and Lavra. The village Portarea was again divided into two, sometime before 1346, and half of it was given to a lay proprietor named Anataulas; Esphigmenou recovered this property

⁴⁴ Iveron, Gomatou, 1341, 2, 6, 8, 13, 19, 21. C. M. Tsirpanlis, "Byzantine Parliaments and Representative Assemblies from 1081 to 1351," *Byzantion*, 43 (1973), 436.

⁴⁵ See, for example, Lavra, Selas, 1300, 37, 43, 57, 60, 80, 81; 1321, 5, 9.

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in 1346. Sometime before 1347, the domain of Esphigmenou in Krousovo was divided into three parts, two of which were given to lay proprietors while one third remained with the monastery; this confiscation was reversed in 1347.⁴⁶ Presumably, these confiscations of monastic property were connected with the civil war of 1341–1347. The village Lozikin, near Rentina in the theme of Thessaloniki, had various proprietors, both lay and monastic: the monasteries of Zographou and Chilandar shared, at various times, possession of the village with the lay magnates Gazes and Petros Doukopoulos. In 1365, the Emperor John V Palaiologos transferred to Chilandar the entire village of Potholinos, along with land, situated in this village and belonging to various lay proprietors. In 1321, half of the village Mamitzon belonged to Chilandar, and the other half to a hospice built in Constantinople by the Kral of Serbia; two years later, the village was divided up again, one third of it going to the monk Kallinikos and two thirds to the hospice.⁴⁷

Thus, despite the process of consolidation of the holdings of the great landlords,⁴⁸ enough fragmentation existed to make it difficult for us to determine the exact population of a village, unless all its landlords are known. In a number of cases only the minimum population of a village can be established at any given moment. Table II-2 gives a selected list of villages with their population and their geographical extent.

⁴⁶ On Portarea and Krousovon, see Lefort, *Esphigménou*, nos. 22, 23.

⁴⁷ On Potholinos, see Petit, *Chilandar*, no. 150; on Lozikin see Petit, *Chilandar*, nos. 6, 13, 100, 116 and Regel-Kurtz-Korablev, *Zographou*, nos. 10, 15, 17, 23, 26, 34. On the confiscations of property at the time of Kantakouzenos' usurpation, see P. Lemerle, "Un praktikon inédit des archives de Karakala (Janvier 1342) et la situation en Macédoine orientale au moment de l'usurpation de Cantacuzène," *Χαριστήριον εις 'Αναστάσιον Κ. 'Ορλάνδου*, I (Athens, 1965), 293–298. On Mamitzon, see Petit, *Chilandar*, nos. 60, 92.

⁴⁸ Každan, *Agrarnye otnošenija*, 69–70.

TABLE II-2
Population and Surface of Selected Villages

Village	Date	Land in Modioi	Paroikike ge	Zeugaria	Households	Inhabitants
1. Gomatou-Develikeia (Lavra)	1300	10,718 (of which 950 was cultivated)	0	22 ^a	112 ^a	433 ^a
2. Aghia Euphemia (Lavra)	1321	4,465	0	41	68	234
3. Gournai (Lavra)	1321	1,520	0	6	29	91
4. Sarantarea (Lavra)	1321	22,155	0	19	40	122
5. Lorothon (Lavra)	1321	4,509	0	48.5	60	250
6. Neochorion (Lavra)	1321	3,698	0	18	28	96
7. Genna (Lavra)	1321	349	0	11	19	73
8. Pinsson (Lavra)	1321	8,144	0	20	43	142
9. Karvaioi (Lavra)	1321	2,965	0	11.5	26	95
10. Drymosita (Lavra)	1321	8,384	0	20	55	218
11. Panaghia (Lavra)	1321	907	0	16	29	85
12. Krya Pegadia(Lavra)	1321	3,600 (cultivated)	0	25	35	127

^aAn estimated 32 households, missing from the *praktikon*, have been added to these figures; the figures for number of inhabitants and number of *zeugaria* have been corrected accordingly.

TABLE II-2 (Continued)

Village	Date	Land in Modioi	Paroikike ge	Zeugaria	Households	Inhabitants
13. Gomatou (Iveron)	1301	2,484	0	24	50	263
14. Melintziani (Iveron)	1301	6,186	0	21	29	121
15. Kato Volvos (Iveron)	1301	9,113	0	20	34	177
16. Xylorygion (Iveron)	1301	1,485	0	3.5	11	43
17. Ierissos (Iveron)	1301	534	144.5	15	36	181
18. Mamitzon (1/3 of village)	1323	2,100 (cultivated)	1,809.5	20	36	127
19. Vrasta (Esfhigmenou)	1318	3,000	1,350	13.5	37	126
20. Portarea (Esfhigmenou)	1318	2,756	1,017	11	29	93
21. Krousovo (Esfhigmenou)	1318	480	437	5	26	84
22. Ierissos-Symeon (Zographou)	1300	825	6	3.5	18	64
23. Nesion-Chantax (Zographou)	1333	575	726	13.5	27	87
24. Ierissos (Xenophon)	1338	400	0	1	6	20
25. Stomion (Xenophon)	1318	2,410	0	0	17	44
26. Psaidofourna, Neakitou (Xenophon)	1338	4,550	0	1	29	93

TABLE II-2 (Continued)

Village	Date	Land in Modroi	Paroikike ge	Zeugeria	Households	Inhabitants
27. Kastriou (Chilandar)	1300	8,000	2,220	47.5	71	274
28. Mountziani (Chilandar)	1300	2,000	300	4.5	9	36
29. Lozikin (Chilandar)	1300	2,000	230	5	9	30
30. Kamenitza (Chilandar)	1300	200	0	5.5	16	58
31. Ierissos (Chilandar)	1321	400	0	0	?	15
32. Malouka (Chilandar)	1318	1,225	0	0	25	80
TOTAL		122,137	8,240	472.5	1059	3982

Total of land (domain land), *paroikike ge*, in *modroi*: 130,377; in km^2 : 116.

Population per km^2 of land: 34.3.

Sources: For village no. 1, Lavra, II, 91, Collège de France. For villages no. 2-12, the surface has been estimated from the *periorismoi* of 1300 (Lavra, II, 90, Collège de France), and the population and property from the *praktikon* of 1321 (Lavra, II, 109, Collège de France). For villages no. 13-17, the source is Dolger, "Sechs byzantinische Praktika," *praktikon A*. For Mamitron, the source is Petit, *Chilandar*, no. 92. For villages no. 19-21, the source is Lefort, *Esphimencou*, no. 14. For villages no. 22 and 23, the source is Regel, Kurtz, Korablev, *Zographou*, nos. XV and XXIX. For villages no. 24-26, the source is Petit, *Xenophon*, nos. 6, 11. For villages no. 27-30, the source is Mosin, *Akti*, pp. 205-218 (Slavic *Praktikon* of Chilandar). For villages no. 31-32, the source is Petit, *Chilandar*, nos. 66, 37. The calculations of surface have been made according to the following formula. The *modros* is taken to be 888.7 m^2 (Schilbach, *Metrologie*, 72-73). The conversion from *schoinia* to *modroi* is made according to the formula given in Lemerle, *et al.*, *Lavra*, I, 291, which converts *schoinia* into *modroi* by adding the *schoinia*, subtracting one-tenth of the total, dividing by 4, raising the quotient to the square and dividing by two.

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TABLE II-3

Population of the *Nomoi* of Thessaloniki and
Chalkidike in Absolute Numbers and Per Square Kilometer

Nomos of	Population	Surface (Km ²)	Arable (Km ²)	Pop. per Km ²
Thessaloniki ^a	293,474	3,501	891	83.8
Chalkidike	79,849	2,998	497	26.6
TOTAL	373,323	6,499	1,388	57.4

Source: The census of 1961, as reported in *Στατιστικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Ἑλλάδος* (Athens, National Bureau of Statistics, 1970).

^aThe population of the city of Thessaloniki (250,920) has not been included in these figures.

From this list we can see, first that the known population of villages varied, both from village to village and over time. Indeed, if we were to select a different list of "villages," we might get very different results. A. P. Každan publishes a list of 15 villages, with a total population of 337, thus with an average of 22.5,⁴⁹ and uses this to support his opinion that the average Balkan village was rather small. I do not, however, think that he is correct in this view. The main point, which he recognizes but does not follow through, is that the information which we have about village populations comes from surviving *praktika* and is not always, indeed is not usually, complete. This necessarily leads to low estimates of population. Thus, for example, in connection with the village of Ierissos, he mentions only the *paroikoi* who belonged to the monastery of Zographou, although other *paroikoi* belonged to the monasteries of Xeropotamou, Xenophon, Iveron, and Lavra. Also it is known that relatively small lay landlords were often granted a very limited number of *paroikoi* in a village. Thus, two men, Michael Saventzes and Nicholas Maroules were granted a number of *paroikoi* in the villages Psalida and Fournia, where the monastery of Xenophon also had some *paroikoi*, so that this village at

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 58; cf. 56-57.

one point had inhabitants who belonged to at least three different landlords.⁵⁰

I would suggest, then, that it is not very useful to draw conclusions from villages with suspiciously low numbers of visible inhabitants. On the other hand, there are several villages with relatively large populations. Gomatou had a visible population of 696 people in 1300–1301, and 537 in 1321; the monastery of Lavra had 503 *paroikoi* in the village Selas in 1300; the village of Radolivous, in the theme of Strymon, had a population of 972 in 1316 and 1060 in 1341.⁵¹ By taking the known (that is, minimum) population of some of these larger villages as well as of small ones, we can arrive at a tentative estimate of the population density which is 34.3 persons per square kilometer. Comparing this to the density of population in the *nomoi* of Thessaloniki and Chalkidike in 1961, we find that, if our sources give us a representative, unbiased picture of the Macedonian countryside in the fourteenth century, then the countryside was fairly thickly settled, being about half as populous as in modern times. The assumption, however, that our information is unbiased in these terms is in itself open to question. Certainly, the state of our sources does not warrant any long-term extrapolations about the total size of the rural population of Macedonia.⁵²

⁵⁰ L. Petit, *Actes de Xénophon, Vizantiiskij Vremennik*, 10 (1903), appendix I, nos. 6 (1318), 7 (1320), 11 (1338), and the two unpublished *praktika*, again from the monastery of Xenophon, nos. 17 and 18 of Laurent's collection.

⁵¹ For Radolivous, see F. Dölger, "Sechs byzantinische Praktika des 14. Jahrhunderts für das Athoskloster Iberon," *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-historische Klasse*, N.F., 28 (1949), RK and RV.

⁵² N. K. Kondov makes daring assumptions about the structure of the Macedonian population when, using data from two villages, and comparing them with the population of Macedonia in the nineteenth century, he tries to extrapolate the total population of Macedonia in the fourteenth century: "Za broja na naselenieto v B'lgarija k'm kraja na XIV v.," *Istoricheski Pregled* (Sofia, 24, 1968), 66–69. He concludes that the density of the Macedonian population in the fourteenth century was 15 people per square kilometer.

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The thickness of the settlements depended, no doubt, to a significant degree on the nature of the terrain and the availability of cultivable land. Furthermore, statistical analysis establishes that there is a very high correlation between the number of inhabitants and the *zeugaria* they owned. That is, the inhabitants of the more populous villages tended to own more *zeugaria* than those of the smaller settlements. On the basis of the information presented in Table II-2, we find that the relationship between number of inhabitants and possession of *zeugaria* is described by the simple correlation coefficient r , which in this case is very high, being 0.75. This strong correlation is probably to be explained by the very simple fact that where arable land was relatively plentiful, the settlements were thicker, and the peasants tended to own *zeugaria*, the term designating both a pair of oxen and the land which can be cultivated with it. But insofar as *zeugarion* denotes cultivated land, it is also possible to argue that these villages, being fairly thickly settled before they had been granted to their present landlord, were inhabited by people with a certain amount of landed property, and that these people were able to keep possession, although probably not ownership, of these lands. Conversely, settlements such as those belonging to the monastery of Xenophon, which were sparsely settled, included a very small number of inhabitants who owned *zeugaria*.

As seen from the documents, the countryside presents a varied picture. Part of the domain land is arable and cultivated; it is the land described as being of first or second quality. The rest is uncultivated, and is variously described as wooded, stony, rocky or hilly, and swampy. Indeed, the detailed description of the various domains, especially in the Chalkidike, contains frequent mention of hills, wooded areas, ravines, and occasionally mentions areas which are so hard to traverse that the *apographeus* cannot exactly describe their boundaries. In 1300, for example, the *apographeus* noted that Lavra possessed "the cultivated land

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of the village Krya Pegadia, being 3,600 *modioi*, and wooded and mountainous land, wherever and however much it may be."⁵³ Some villages seem to have a large proportion of their land under cultivation: such is the case of Mamitzon, or at least of that part of it which belonged to Kallinikos, which was all cultivated. The land of the village of Melintziani also seems to have all been under cultivation. The village had 6,185.5 *modioi* (5.5 km²) and all of it was of first or second quality. On the contrary, the village of Gomatou, lying in a small plain in the eastern part of the Chalkidike, was less fertile. In 1300–1301, the total of its lands (belonging to Lavra and Iveron) was 13,202 *modioi*, or 11 km². Of this, only 2850 *modioi* (2.5 km²) was cultivated. This means that 81 percent of the land granted to Lavra, and 24 percent of the land belonging to Iveron was uncultivated. The uncultivated lands belonging to Lavra are described as "mountainous, stony, fallow, and uncultivated" (γῆ βουνώδης, πετρώδης, χερσαία καὶ ἀνήροτος).⁵⁴

From the terms of imperial grants of villages to monastic and lay landlords, we may draw some conclusions about the economic and juridical function of the village. First, it is clear that the state understood this term to include both lands and peasants. Thus, Michael VIII's grant of Portarea to Esphigmenou refers to "half the village . . . with all its rights (*δικαίων*), that is, *paroikoi*, arable lands, and vineyards." Later, the term "*δικαίων*" is replaced by the words "its entire possessions," "*κατοχῆς καὶ διακρατήσεως*." Andronikos II's confirmation of the possessions of Chilandar, in 1299,

⁵³ "Τῆ ὑπεργος χωρίου τῶν Κρύων Πηγαδίων μοδίων γ'χ' καὶ βουνώδης καὶ ἀλωδῆς, ὅση καὶ οἷα ἐστίν:" Lavra, Collège de France II, 90. The *pronoia* of Monomachos in the village Nesion contained 100 *modioi* of "uncultivated swampy land" ("*ἀνήροτος καὶ βαλτώδης*"): Regel, Kurtz, Korabiev, *Zographou*, no. 29, 70.

⁵⁴ On Mamitzon, see Petit, *Chilandar*, no. 92. On Melintziani, see Dölger, "Sechs Praktika," A, lines 31–32. On Gomatou, see Dölger, "Sechs Praktika," lines 108–109, and Lavra, Collège de France, II, 90. Develikeia has been included in the calculation of the lands owned by Lavra at Gomatou: the two villages are described together in the *periorismos* of 1321: Lavra, Collège de France, II, 108.

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refers to the monastery's *metohion* in the village Roudava, "with the *paroikoi* who are found there, the olive grove, the vineyards, the mills and the entire area and possession (of the *metohion*)."⁵⁵

The village forms an entire productive unit, consisting of arable land, vineyards, woods, streams, mills, and inhabitants with their vineyards, gardens, fruit trees, and livestock. The landlords are granted such a productive unit, either in its entirety or in part. The question arises, whether this also forms a fiscal, administrative, and juridical unit. The answer to such a question hinges upon the larger question of exactly what it was that the state ceded to the landlords. There are several possibilities: the state could have ceded merely the revenues of certain areas, simply making the landlord into a tax-collector. Or the state may have ceded physical possession and juridical rights of property over the villages, thus making the grantee into a possessor of the areas involved. We have seen that in the fourteenth century the second possibility was realized.⁵⁶ This meant that the landlord was not merely given the right to appropriate state taxes on the peasants (the *telos*),

⁵⁵ Lefort, *Esphigménou*, no. 6, p. 63. Petit, *Chilandar*, no. 13, p. 34: "ἕτερον μετόχιον . . . μετὰ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ εὕρισκομένων παροίκων, τοῦ ἐλαιῶνος, τῶν ἀμπελώνων, τῶν μυλώνων καὶ τῆς περιοχῆς πάσης αὐτοῦ καὶ διακρατήσεως." Cf. *ibid.*, nos. 23 (1306), 38 (1318).

⁵⁶ The abandonment of fiscal revenues to individuals or juridical persons appears already in the Fiscal Treatise of the tenth century. Monasteries received *logisima*, that is, were exempted from the taxes due on certain of their lands, or they were granted *solemnia logisima*, by which the recipient (usually a monastery) received taxes due to the state. Sometimes, a community would pay its taxes to the monastery, instead of to the Treasury. As P. Lemerle has observed we are, here, at the beginning of the institutions of *oikonomia* and *pronoia*: Dölger, *Beiträge*, 117–118; P. Lemerle, "Esquisse pour une histoire agraire de Byzance," *Revue historique*, 219 (1958), 264–265. For an example of a grant of *logisima*, see Lemerle, Guillou, Svoronos, Papatryssanthou, *Lavra*, I, no. 48 (1086). On the fourteenth century, see Hvostova, *Osobennosti*, part I, chapter I. Cf. P. Charanis, "Town and Country in the Byzantine Possessions of the Balkan Peninsula During the Later Period of the Empire," *Aspects of the Balkans, Continuity and Change* (The Hague and Paris, 1972), 122–24.

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and to be freed of the state taxes on his lands. On the contrary, it meant that the landlord was also ceded the feudal rent on these areas. In other words, the landlord was given, over and above the state taxes (the *posotes* mentioned in the *praktika*), the right to exploit the physical and human resources of the village. It is because of this that donations to landlords sometimes included a clause which stated that the landlord would profit from any amelioration of the land, presumably effected through the labor of the peasants. The state granted the landlord property of a certain value, but he could keep any further revenues which might result from the exploitation of the land through the labor of the peasants.⁵⁷

The terms of the exploitation were further defined by agreement between the landlord and the *paroikoi*. These agreements do not appear in the *praktika*, since they were private arrangements in which the custom of the village no doubt played an important part. A document of the thirteenth century from Asia Minor proves that imperial grants of land included not merely the grant of state taxes—the *telos*—but also the feudal rent, that is, the surplus of the lands which were cultivated by the peasants. In the document in question, the peasants of the village Malachiou cultivated a certain land which the Emperor subsequently donated to the monastery of Patmos. At the time of the donation, the inhabitants of Malachiou complained that the land involved in the imperial grant had been their own by hereditary right. The Emperor ordered an inquest to be made, and said that the decisive question would be, whether the inhabitants of Malachiou paid a tithe (*μορτή*) for the land they cultivated or not. If they paid a tithe, then the land did not belong to them. As might be expected, the officials who carried out the inquest found that "this land was in the possession of the men of Malachiou, Stomation, and others, and was worked by them, but those who worked

⁵⁷ See, for example, Lemerle, "Praktikon inedit," 285, 287–288.

this land at various times gave a tithe *either to the state or to those who held Malachiou in pronoiá*.⁵⁸ Thus, the *pronoia*-grant included not merely the state tax of the *paroikoi* but also the revenues from the land cultivated by the *paroikoi*.

Given that the state granted to landlords villages which formed units of men and land, there are still questions concerning the fiscal and juridical structure of the village. Most important is the question of the survival, in the late Byzantine period, of the village community as seen in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The main characteristics of that community had been collective responsibility for the payment of taxes and concomitant collective rights on the land; the village formed a fiscal unit, an economic unit and, as we can see from court cases in which villages were involved, a juridical unit.⁵⁹ The village community, which the legislation of the tenth-century Emperors had tried to preserve, had been the most distinctive characteristic of the Byzantine countryside in the tenth and probably the elev-

⁵⁸ F. Miklosich-J. Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca mediæ aevi*, VI (Vienna, 1890), 212-214. The passage reads: "ἡ τοιαύτη γῆ κατείχετο μὲν καὶ ἐνέμετο παρά τε τῶν Μαλαχιωτῶν τῶν Στοματιανιτῶν καὶ ἐτέρων, ἐδίδοτο δὲ ἡ ἀνήκουσα ταύτη μορτῇ πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ καιροὺς ἐργαζομένους αὐτὴν ἢ πρὸς τὸ μέρος τοῦ δημοσίου ἢ πρὸς τοὺς εἰς πρόνοιαν ἔχοντας τὰ Μαλαχίον" (p. 213), and earlier: "ἡ πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ καιροὺς εἰς πρόνοιαν ἔχοντας τὰ Μαλαχίον" (p. 212). On *μορτῇ* see H. F. Schmid, "Byzantinisches Zehntwesen," *Jahrbuch der Oesterreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 6 (1957), 53-67, 93-99. I do not agree with Schmid that the *μορτῇ* or *δεκατία* was originally a state tax, perceived on the state lands and then granted to the church as well. On the contrary, I believe that *μορτῇ* was the contract between cultivator and landlord, and I believe that the document discussed in the text supports my view. For further discussion of this question, see *infra*, chapter v.

⁵⁹ A. P. Každan, *Derevnja i gorod v Vizantii ix.-x. vv.* (Moscow, 1960), chapter 1; Každan, *Agrarnye otnošenija*, 73-89; G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (New Brunswick, 1957), 120-121; Dölger, *Beiträge*, 67. Cf. the critical views of Lemerle, "Esquisse," *Revue historique*, 219 (1958), 32-74. On the Byzantine commune see also G. Ostrogorsky, "La commune rurale byzantine," *Byzantion*, 32 (1962), 139-166, and Hélène Antoniadis-Bibicou, "Byzance et le M.P.A.," in C. E. R. M., *Sur le "mode de production asiatique,"* 2d ed. (Paris, 1974), 195-227.

enth century. The problem of its survival in the period of feudalization of the Byzantine Empire is one which merits much more careful examination than can be given here.⁶⁰ A few observations should be made, however.

First, it should be noted that the Byzantine village community was characterized by a peculiar kind of property ownership. It is commonly acknowledged that in the tenth century the free Byzantine peasant had property rights over the land he cultivated. These rights, however, did not include absolute rights of alienation of his property. Here, the community, that is, the people who were the peasant's fellow tax-payers and neighbors, could exercise certain rights. Most important of these was the right of preemption, through which the members of the community retained first right on lands sold by their neighbors and the other members of the community.⁶¹ The community also possessed common lands, some of which were periodically redistributed, while others could be alienated. These common lands, far from representing the only kind of ownership, coexisted with lands on which individuals and their families had the first right.⁶² But private ownership of land was tempered by the rights of the community itself and of the fisc.

⁶⁰ Každan, *Agrarnye otnošenija*, 73–89; P. Charanis, "On the Social Structure and Economic Organization of the Byzantine Empire in the Thirteenth Century and Later," *Byzantinoslavica*, 12 (1951), 119–134; G. Ostrogorskij, *Quelques problèmes d'histoire de la paysannerie byzantine*, Subsidia II (Brussels, 1956), 41–74; on the survival of village communities in the eleventh century, see N. Svoronos, *Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XI^e et XII^e siècles: Le cadastre de Thèbes* (Athens, 1959), 144 ff., and N. Svoronos, "L'épibolè à l'époque des Comnènes," Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation byzantine, *Travaux et Mémoires*, 3 (1968), 392–394.

⁶¹ Lemerle, "Esquisse," *Revue historique*, 219 (1958), 254–284; G. Ostrogorsky, "Die ländliche Steuergemeinde des byzantinischen Reiches im X. Jahrhundert," *Vierteljahrschrift Sozial und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 20 (1928), 1–108; on *protimesis*, see G. Ostrogorsky, "The Peasant's Pre-emption Right," *Journal of Roman Studies*, 37 (1947), 117–126.

⁶² The eighth-century *Farmers' Law* mentions periodic redistribution of common lands: W. Ashburner, "The Farmer's Law," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 30 (1910), 85–108, Chapters 32, 81. Cf. Lemerle,

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Vestiges of this system survive in the fourteenth century. The question of the existence, in this period, of free peasants living in village communities falls outside the scope of this study. What is of interest here is the survival in the dependent villages of some elements of the free community. The documents suggest that the village as a geographical entity and its inhabitants formed a unit with certain collective rights and obligations. The phrase "the rights" ("τὰ δίκαια") of such and such a village is frequently found. This is a term which is used both for the possessions of a village and for the possessions of a landlord. Thus, in the various *periorismoι*, the boundaries of a certain property are described as bordering on the "rights" of a village, or another monastery, or a lay *pronoia*-holder. The lands of the village of Drymosita, which was a property of Lavra, bordered not only on the "rights" of several *pronoia*-holders—Ioannes Isauros, Theodoros Kounales, Ioannes Tarchaneiotēs, Vlachernites—but also on the rights of the village Panaghia which, belonging to Lavra, is described as *omodoulon*, that is, dependent on the same landlord. In the description of Lavra's possessions in Pinsson (1300), we see that the village has common borders with the rights of the village Vasilika, and "with the rights of the . . . monastery of Iveron, in Xylorygion."⁶³ In these two examples we have representative cases of several different uses of the term "τὰ δίκαια." We find the term used to describe the possessions of two villages (Vasilika and Panaghia), and the possessions

"Esquisse," *Revue historique*, 219 (1958), 59–61. Russian historians have spoken of a community where the lands were held in common and periodically redistributed. The older views of Uspenskij and Vasilievskij have been expanded by E. E. Lipšić, "Slavanskaja obščina i ee rolj v formirovanij vizantiskogo feodalizma," *Vizantiiskij Vremennik*, 26 (1947), 144–163; "Vizantiskoe krestjanstvo i slavanskaja kolonizacija," *Vizantiiskij Sbornik* (Moscow, 1945), 96–143. For an example of the sale of common lands, see Lemerle, Guillou, Svoronos, Papachryssanthou, *Lavra*, I, no. 14, and Lemerle, "Esquisse," *Revue historique*, 220 (1958), 76–77.

⁶³ Lavra, Collège de France, II, 90.

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of a monastery in the hamlet Xylorygion. The term is also used to describe the lands of several lay *pronoia*-holders. One of them, Kounales, held his rights in the form of a *pronoia* in the village of Mystakonon: "τά τε παρὰ τοῦ Κουνάλη κυροῦ Θεοδώρου (δίκαια) προνοιαστικῶς κατεχόμενα τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρίου τῶν Μυστακῶνων."

The *pronoia*-holders held their "rights" by imperial grant, as did the monasteries. The assessor seems to differentiate between rights given by imperial grant and rights held in hereditary tenure, that is, in absolute possession. Thus, in the *periorismos* of the village Genna we find mention of the "hereditary" (γονικά) rights of the monastery of Lavra "which the monastery acquired through purchase from Kapsofoles."⁶⁴ The word γονικά indicates that the monastery held these lands not by grant but in full possession, having bought them from Kampsopoles who also had held them in full, allodial possession. There is also a differentiation between the "rights" of a village and the "rights" of specific individuals or legal persons in the village. Thus, the village of Mystakonon is seen to possess its own rights, while a *pronoia*-holder, Kounales, had "rights" in the same village. We find, therefore, a mingling of rights of big proprietors and villagers. They are qualitatively different. In the case of dependent villages, their "rights" can be nothing more than the lands that were traditionally attached to the village, and that were cultivated by the peasants. In the case of the landlords, their "rights" were rights of exploitation of land and people.

It must be stressed that the various villages preserved their "rights," even after the village had been granted to a landlord. Thus, for example we find mention of the "ὁμόδουλα δίκαια" of the village Panaghia; the "rights" of the village Sigelou were mentioned in the *periorismos* of Linovrocheion and Krya Pegadia in 1321, although it was specifically stated that Sigelou was held by the monastery of Chortaitou. The

⁶⁴ *Periorismos* of 1321, Lavra, Collège de France, II, 108.

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case of Ierissos is intriguing in this connection. We know that the monasteries of Iveron, Xeropotamou, Xenophon, Zographou, Chilandar, and Lavra all held lands and *paroikoi* there. Still, in the *periorismoi* of Develikeia, Proavlux and Kato Daimonon (1300), we find mention of the "rights of Ierissos," the "rights of the men of Ierysso" ("Ἱερυσσιωτῶν") and the "rights of the *paroikoi* of Ierysso."⁶⁵ It is clear that the *paroikoi* of the village retained some kind of rights over the village land, although it is not clear whether the village was still treated as a unit after parts of it had been granted to various landlords.

It seems to me that we are witnessing here the survival, both in reality and in the language of the fisc, of some traits of the old Byzantine village community. The fourteenth-century village was considered a collective entity, as the old village community had been. By the process of feudalization, villages were granted to big proprietors, but they remained a unit in the eyes of the fisc. The village did not cease to exist as a collective unit simply because it had been granted to a landlord, and so it was possible to use the term "rights" for dependent villages. In the description of Stomion, we find the phrase: "the rights of Neon Chorion which are in the possession of Lavra" ("τὰ παρὰ τῆς Λαύρας τοῦ Νέου Χωρίου κατεχόμενα δίκαια").⁶⁶ The rights of the village Neon Chorion were treated as a unit, although they were in the possession of a monastery. Sometimes, landlords were granted only part of the land and the inhabitants of the village; they held rights on parts of the village, while the rest continued to function as a unit—such would be the case of Mystakonon. Such a process appears as almost a smooth continuation of the process, known in the tenth and eleventh centuries, by which the Emperor might take over

⁶⁵ *Periorismoi* of 1300 and 1321, Lavra, Collège de France, II, 90 and II, 108.

⁶⁶ Petit, *Xénophon*, no. VII (1320), p. 52. In another case, we find the expression: "τὰ δίκαια τοῦ Μαγκαφᾶ, κατεχόμενα ἀρτίως παρὰ τοῦ Χρυσάφη Θεοδώρου." Here, the entity is the "rights" of a certain magnate (Mangafas), now in the possession of Chrysafes.

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for the fisc, and then hand over or sell to individuals, "the deserted lands" (κλάσματα) of a village community.⁶⁷ Now, however, it is not merely deserted lands which are involved, but cultivated lands as well.

Although in the language of the fisc the village remained as a unit, in functional terms the rights of this unit had been severely curtailed. We still find a few collective obligations which burdened the village as a whole. It is true that, generally speaking, the head of each household of *paroikoi* was responsible for his own tax, the *telos*.⁶⁸ However, after the assessor had described the households of each village, he added up the taxes owed by all the households (the sum is the *oikoumenon*), and then mentioned the supplementary taxes owed by the *paroikoi*. The most common of these taxes were *opheleia*, *aer*, *choiroprovaton*, *choirodekatia*, *melissoennomion*; at least one of them, *opheleia*, was a fixed proportion of the *oikoumenon*.⁶⁹ One assumes that each village was collectively responsible for the perception of this tax, and that payment was apportioned by reference to each householder's property. Also the lands of each village were burdened with state taxes, and the state specifically relieved the monastery of the taxes which were owed by the lands of each of the dependent villages.

Collective fiscal responsibility was thus retained in a rudimentary fashion, but both the fiscal rights and the fiscal obligations of the village community had been much eroded. The right of preemption of peasant land had origi-

⁶⁷ Dölger, *Beiträge*, 118–20; Svoronos, *Cadastré*, 44–45, 121–124; Lemerle, "Esquisse," *Revue historique*, 219 (1958), p. 263; Ostrogorskij, *Paysannerie*, 11–24; Lemerle, Guillou, Svoronos, *Papachryssanthou, Lavra*, 1, nos. 2, 3.

⁶⁸ Sometimes two or more households pay their tax jointly. This is frequently the case in the villages owned by the monastery of Iveron in the theme of Strymon. See, for example, Dölger, "Sechs Praktika," *Voriskos*, 1316, nos. 1, 2, 1341, nos. 2, 9; Radolivos, 1316, nos. 3, 25. In the village Mamitzon, Georgios Mavros was "joined" ("ένωμένος") with his brother-in-law Nikolaos, and was jointly responsible with him for the payment of taxes: Petit, *Chilandar*, no. 92, p. 197.

⁶⁹ Bompaire, *Xéropotamou*, 146, 147, 151; Dölger, "Sechs Praktika," p. 31; Hvostova, *Osobennosti*, 98, 172.

nally belonged to conjoint holders of property, to people who paid taxes conjointly, and to other holders of adjoining lands. Imperial legislation in the tenth century forbade the alienation of peasant land to the powerful. In the fourteenth century, rights of preemption were still mentioned, but far from protecting the peasant they now permitted landlords to acquire peasant land. Thus, in 1321, the nun Marina, widow of Michael Modenos, sold to Chilandar a certain property for 210 *hyperpyra*. She explained that in times past her brother-in-law and her son-in-law had sold their lands to the monastery, and she was selling the last parcel of land left to her family. The monks were "neighbors" of this land, through their earlier purchase, and Marina mentioned their right of preemption: "it would not have been just to offer this land to another person, a stranger, except to you, the monks, because you are neighbors and have the right of preemption over this (land)."⁷⁰ Similarly, in 1326, a woman from Serres sold to Chilandar a certain building found within lands which the monastery had purchased earlier. In 1270, the metropolitan of Thessaloniki renounced his right of preemption over a certain property, thus allowing the monastery of Vatopedi to sell the property "to a pious and Christian orthodox person."⁷¹ It is to be noted that all of these cases do not concern the goods of *paroikoi* but those of freeholders. In the *praktika*, we frequently find that the landed properties of individual *paroikoi* (mostly vineyards

⁷⁰ Petit, *Chilandar*, no. 69, p. 156: "καὶ ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἦν δίκαιον, πρὸς ἀλότριον καὶ ξένον πρόσωπον τοῦτο ἀναπέμψαι εἰ μὴ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς μοναχοὺς ὡς πλισιαστὰς ὄντας καὶ προτιμῆσεως δίκαιον ἔχοντας ἑαυτῶ. . . ." Cf. Ostrogorsky, "Preemption Right," 117 ff. Cf. Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, vi, 125 (1193); Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, no. 7 (1305); Hvastova, *Osobennosti*, 172. In the fourteenth century, Harmenopoulos stated that many of the provisions of the legislation on *protimesis* had lapsed: Constantine Harmenopoulos, *Manuale legum sive Hexabiblos*, ed. G. E. Heimbach (Leipzig, 1851), 380. From Trebizond, we have documents referring to lands as "τὰ ἀηλέγκια" and "τὰ βασιλικά καὶ νέα ἀλελέγκια": F. I. Uspenskij, V. V. Benešević, *Vazelonskie Akty* (Leningrad, 1927), no. 105, pp. 65, 66.

⁷¹ Petit, *Chilandar*, no. 108; Regel, Kurtz, Korablev, *Zographou*, no. viii, pp. 24-25; cf. *ibid.*, no. ix.

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and gardens) are described by reference to the plots of their neighbors. This, however, appears to be simply a means of identifying the various plots, and not an effort to register owners of adjoining plots for the purpose of allowing them to exercise rights of preemption.

According to the Farmer's Law, the village community which had collective fiscal responsibility and perhaps rights of preemption also had the right to exploit the deserted lands of peasants who had been its members. By the tenth century, abandoned lands reverted to the state, not to the community; in the fourteenth century, this right had been transferred to the landlord. For one thing, the landlord inherited the property of *paroikoi* who died childless. Markos Doukas Glabas, in 1370, declared null and void the sale of half a mill by one of his *paroikoi* on the grounds that the *paroikos* in question had died without children, so that his property reverted to the landlord, and all contracts involving this property were void.⁷² In several *praktika* we find *exaleimmatika stasia*, peasant properties whose owners had disappeared or died out. If these properties were unoccupied, they are usually placed at the end of the *praktikon*, after the description of the occupied households. Sometimes too these "deserted" properties were registered along with the tax they owed. Thus, in the *praktikon* given to the lay landlord Maroules are mentioned several *exaleimata* in the villages Psalida and Fournia; each *exaleimma* had vineyards or arable, and each was burdened with a tax.⁷³ It is unclear whether the other *paroikoi* of this landlord were expected to pay the tax, in which case the collective responsibility of the community still operated in a changed form, or whether the tax is mentioned simply so

⁷² Dölger, *Schatzkammer*, no. 115, p. 313, Miklosich and Müller, *Acta v* (1887), 280, rv, 93-94. Cf. Každan, *Agrarnye otnošenija*, 93-94, Hvostova, *Osobnosti*, 172-173, and Ostrogorskij, *Paysannerie*, 46.

⁷³ Unpublished *praktikon* of Xenophon, Laurent no. 18 (1321); Lefort, *Ēsphigménou*, no. 14 (1318), p. 109; Regel, Kurtz, Korablev, *Zographou*, no. xv.

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that it can be reassigned to a *paroikos* when the land itself is reassigned. In other *praktika*, deserted lands were simply mentioned, without any description either of the property involved or of the tax owed.⁷⁴

If then the *paroikos* of a monastery or of a lay landlord died without children or moved away, his holding reverted to the landlord. It was in the interest of the landlord to try to find another *paroikos* to occupy the holding, and sometimes these efforts were successful. Thus, in the village Mamitzon, Konstantinos Pegeniotes held a house and some lands which had formed part of a deserted holding, and in the village Gomatou, in the domain of Iveron, the holding of Nikolaos Filippos was reassigned to Stefanos Skiadas between 1320 and 1341. It is to be noted that it was no longer necessary for thirty years to elapse before a holding could be reassigned, as had been the law in the tenth century.⁷⁵ It is also interesting to note that, whereas a large number of households seem to disappear from the records between 1300–1301 and 1341, a very small proportion of holdings are seen to have been reassigned.⁷⁶

The state frequently reassigned deserted holdings both to monastic and to lay landlords. Thus, in 1320, the censor Pharisaïos, who was engaged in the assessment of the property of Zographou, was asked by the monastery to exchange certain lands it held near the Vardar river with other lands near its possessions in Ierissos. The censor found that near Ierissos, there was deserted land called Saravari, which was already occupied and exploited by the monks of Esphigmenou and the inhabitants of Ierissos. Saravari was handed over to Zographou; those who had been working the land seem to have had no rights over it. Chilandar was given

⁷⁴ Petit, *Chilandar*, no. 38 (1318), (villages Evnouchou and Leipsochorion); Bompaire, *Xéropotamou*, nos. 18D, 18E (village Symeon).

⁷⁵ Petit, *Chilandar*, no. 92, p. 195; Iveron, Gomatou, 1341, 32. Cf. Lefort, *Esphigmenou*, no. 8 (1300), pp. 68–69, no. 14 (1318), p. 103. On the tenth-century legislation governing abandoned lands, see Dölger, *Beiträge*, 118–119, 128–132.

⁷⁶ On the number of households which disappear from the registers over time, see *infra*, chapter vi.

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several deserted lands in Aghia Triada in 1318. Each holding was minutely described, and the lands appear to be productive. At least one holding, that of Theodoros Thraskeus, was occupied by its owner at the time the document was drawn up. It is not at all clear why this holding was described as deserted.⁷⁷

Deserted lands were also granted to monasteries and lay proprietors, perhaps to the less important among them. A delimitation of the property of Xenophon near Neakitou describes a parcel of land measuring 2,100 *modioi*, which the monastery is to hold "with the exception of the *exaleimmatika stasia* which some *stratiotai* are holding there."⁷⁸ It is clear from the phrasing that these deserted holdings were not very large; as for the *stratiotai*, these were *pronoia*-holders, but so inconspicuous that not even their names are mentioned. They probably had less property than Michael Saventzes, who owned eight families of *paroikoi*, 2,100 *modioi* of land and a "deserted" vineyard of 1.5 *modioi*. Similarly, Nikolaos Maroules owned 17 families of *paroikoi*, 2,050 *modioi* of land, and several deserted holdings. Both these soldiers were members of the imperial guard, stationed at Thessaloniki, as was Manouel Berilas who also held small parcels of deserted lands.⁷⁹ Pious "soldiers" might

⁷⁷ Regel, Kurtz, Korablev, *Zographou*, no. xviii (1320); Petit, *Chilandar*, no. 40. The fact that Theodoros Thraskeus was alive in 1318 can be seen from the description of the holdings of his uncle, Georgios (p. 98), some of whose property was held together with Theodoros. In fact, there is no conclusive indication that any of the people holding these deserted lands was dead or had disappeared. It is possible that the deserted lands had been reassigned, and that what is described here is holdings which were once deserted but are now occupied. Cf. Lemerle, Guillou, Svoronos, Papachryssanthou, *Lavra*, I, no. 43 (1081).

⁷⁸ Petit, *Xenophon*, no. v, p. 38: "ἀνευ ὧν ἔχουσι ἐκεῖ ἐξαλειμματικῶν στασιῶν στρατιῶται τινες."

⁷⁹ Unpublished *praktika* of Xenophon, Laurent, nos. 17, 18; Peter Schreiner, "Zwei unedierte Praktika aus der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch der Oesterreichischen Byzantinistik*, 19 (1970), 38. On "soldiers" with small holdings and limited revenues, see A. Laiou, "The Byzantine Aristocracy in the Palaeologan Period: A Story of Arrested Development," *Viator*, 4 (1973), 140-143.

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then donate parts of their holdings to monasteries. In the description of the village Psalidofourna in 1338, the censor wrote that there were some deserted lands which had originally belonged to the monastery of Xenophon, but which had been taken away from the monastery and given to certain soldiers stationed in Thessaloniki. The soldiers donated the lands back to the monastery, which was holding them in 1338.⁸⁰

The community as a fiscal unit had lost most of its functions by the fourteenth century. Neither the collective tax responsibility, nor the rights of preemption were operating in the way they had operated in the tenth century. In cases where peasants may be paying the taxes for abandoned land, the tax goes to the landlord. It is not a case of a village community assuming the responsibility for abandoned land.⁸¹ But if in fiscal terms the village community seems to have degenerated, it is probable that in economic terms

⁸⁰ Petit, *Xénophon*, no. xi, p. 78. Psalidofourna and Neakitou, which were neighboring lands, are interesting because they allow us to see how lay and ecclesiastical landlords could have intermingled possessions. Thus, in 1300, the monastery held extensive lands in the area of Psalida-Fournia-Neakitou; it is not known how many *paroikoi* the monastery possessed there. By 1318-1320, the monastic possessions have expanded considerably, and Xenophon has exchanged some lands it had held in Kassandreia for 2,100 *modioi* of land in Neakitou. It is here that can be found some "exaleimmatika stasia" belonging to soldiers from Thessaloniki. In 1321, also, we find Maroules and Saventzes holding both land and *paroikoi* in the area of Psalida-Fournia. By 1338, some of the land which the state had given to soldiers has returned to the monastery (Petit, *Xénophon*, no. xi); according to the assessor, this land had belonged to Xenophon before having been given to the soldiers. Were Maroules and Saventzes holding, in 1321, lands which had belonged to the monastery, and did they subsequently return these lands? And on what occasion did the Byzantine state take monastic lands to give them to soldiers? Perhaps this was one of the means employed by the Emperor Andronikos II in his effort to reorganize the armed forces of the Empire, an effort which he undertook between 1311 and 1321: Nicephori Gregorae, *Byzantina Historia*, ed. L. Schopen, 1 (Bonn, 1829), 317-318.

⁸¹ The *paroikoi* of Maroules may have paid the tax for the *exaleimmatika stasia* included in his property. See *supra*, p. 57.

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the village still formed a unit. Here the information is limited, and one is forced to rely mostly on historical common sense in interpreting recalcitrant data. First, it should be observed that the inhabitants of each village possessed similar taxable goods. The distinctive items are arable land and draft animals, since these were involved in the major economic pursuit, agriculture.

By arable land, I designate land which is called "γη" in the sources. This *ge* is clearly differentiated in the *praktika* from the *zeugaria*, a term which designated a pair of oxen and perhaps the land which may be cultivated with a pair of oxen. The majority of the peasants in our sample held no arable (*ge*). However, there are a few villages where γη is listed as part of the taxable property of the peasant household. The inhabitants of the villages Mamitzon, Vrasta, Portarea, Krousovo, Siderokauseia, Gradac, Mountziani, and Lozikin had arable land in substantial quantities. The same is true of the *paroikoi* of the lay *pronoiai* of Saventzes and Maroules at Psalida and Fournia, of Margarites, and of Monomachos, in the villages Chandax and Nesion.⁸² The factor which determined what property the *paroikoi* owned—or, at least, which of their property was taxable and reported in the *praktika*—seems to be the village, and not the landlord. Thus, while four of the villages of Esphigmenou had *paroikoi* with γη, the inhabitants of Laimin and Agios Georgios had no arable. In the domain of Chilandar in the area near Strumitsa, the peasants of Gradac, Mountziani and Lozikin possessed arable, while those of Kamenitsa, Kontogrikou, and Koumitza had none. Furthermore, Hvostova has shown that those of the *paroikoi* of Ierissos who belonged to the monasteries of Iveron and Zographou had their properties taxed in the same manner.⁸³

⁸² Petit, *Chilandar*, no. 92; Lefort, *Esphigmenou*, no. 14; Mošin, "Akti," no. 2; Lemerle, "Un praktikon inédit"; Regel, Kurtz, Korablev, *Zographou*, no. xxix.

⁸³ For Esphigmenou, see Lefort, *Esphigmenou*, nos. 8, 14, 15; for Chilandar, see Mošin, "Akti," no. 2. Cf. Hvostova, *Osobennosti*, 142-143. Cf. also Lefort, "Fiscalité médiévale," 335-337.

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Sometimes, however, the *paroikoi* of different landlords were differentiated in terms of property. Thus, while the *paroikoi* of two lay *pronoia*-holders in Psalida and Fournia in 1321 held land, those of Xenophon in the same village in 1338 did not. Indeed, they held very little property, as did all the *paroikoi* of this monastery.⁸⁴ In the particular case of the monastery of Xenophon, the common factor in the economic condition of the peasants seems to have been the fact that they belonged to this particular monastery rather than to their villages.

The lay *pronoiai* of Macedonia present a thorny problem in connection with the possession of *ge*. For, although the *paroikoi* of most monasteries possessed no arable, those of most lay landlords for whom we have *praktika* did. The one exception is the *paroikoi* of Berilas. It is thus possible that the relations of production were different for the peasants who depended from a monastery and those who depended from a layman. If that is true, then the economic unity of villages which had several landlords had been much eroded. Admittedly, the lay landlords for whom we have information were rather small landlords, and their *paroikoi* tended to be few. Some of these *paroikoi* were transferred from landlord to landlord, and may have lived in different circumstances from the rest of their village. Thus, of Saventzes' eight peasant households, three had belonged to two different lay landlords and two had belonged to a monastery. The organization of the landed possessions of magnates like the Kantakouzenoi or the Synadenoi may have differed significantly from that of the holdings of these "soldiers from Thessaloniki." The peasants of the lay magnates may have lived in conditions similar to those of the monastic *paroikoi*.

Furthermore, to say that the inhabitants of the same village *generally* held the same kinds of property is not to argue that there was no economic differentiation between the peasants, or to state that in a village where ownership

⁸⁴ G. Ostrogorskij, *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine* (Brussels, 1954), 331-343.

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of land is not general, no peasant had any arable.⁸⁵ On the contrary, there was substantial economic differentiation among peasants in their possession of arable as in everything else. Occasionally, too, we find some few peasants owning small parcels of *ge* in a village where the majority of peasants owned none. These facts constitute small exceptions to the generally true statement that insofar as *ge* is concerned there is a high correlation between inhabiting certain villages and owning land.

Insofar as domain land is concerned, it was cultivated by the peasants both on a share-cropping basis and through labor services, as can be seen in the *praktikon* concerning the village Mamitzon. In performing labor services for their landlord, the peasants of a village presumably acted in cooperation, apportioning the various tasks among themselves. There is information that villages acted as a unit even when cultivating land on a share-cropping basis. The inhabitants of the village Malachiou in Asia Minor cultivated certain lands and paid a share of the produce to the state or to *pronoia*-holders; the arrangement concerning the tithe was made between *the village* and the landlord. The same is true of the inhabitants of the village Potamos, who cultivated lands in Sfournou on a share-cropping basis.⁸⁶ In their basic economic relations with the landlords, then, the villagers acted in common.

Since ownership of $\gamma\eta$ was uncommon, it is possible to use it in order to examine the economic cohesion of the village in terms of the kinds of property owned by its inhabitants. The same cannot be said about the possession of *zeugaria*, since some at least of the peasants of most villages did possess *zeugaria*. The overall ratio of *zeugaria* per household was rather low, being 1:3.2 in 1300-1301, 1:2.6 in 1320-1321, and 1:2.8 in 1338-1341. The distribution of

⁸⁵ On the economic differentiation of peasant holdings, see *infra*, chapter v and Charanis, "Town and Country," 123.

⁸⁶ Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, iv, 34-41, vi, 212-214. Cf. G. C. Homans, *English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century* (New York, 1966), 76, 240-241, 246.

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zeugaria within a village was skewed, a few *paroikoi* possessing one or two *zeugaria*, while others had none at all. Insofar as the term designated pairs of oxen, it is possible that the various households used their oxen cooperatively in cultivating the lands of the monastery, but this is only a possibility. It is also probable that the landlord provided some of the draft animals used in the cultivation of domain lands.⁸⁷

The dependent Byzantine villages preserved a certain degree of internal coherence and juridical unity, as can be seen from their relations with the big landlords. Disputes over land or over means of production such as mills were only the mildest form of struggle between peasant and landlord. The inhabitants of Chandax, wanting to prevent the monks of Chilandar from erecting a mill near their village, took the rather drastic action of tearing the mill down.⁸⁸ The inhabitants of Neochorion in Asia Minor had to promise specifically not to molest the monastery of Lemviotissa in its possessions near their village. The inhabitants of the village Avramiton in Macedonia took over some land which had belonged to Xenophon and planted it with vines.⁸⁹ Most of these actions by the peasants resulted in complaints to the Emperor or his officials. In the resulting inquiries, as well as in investigations of disputes between two monasteries, we find the village acting as a juridical unit, with its own representative. Sometimes it was the entire village which brought suit or was sued. Thus, the *paroikoi* of Syrgares in the village Potamos, acting as a body, appealed to the Emperor demanding possession of Sfournou.⁹⁰ At other

⁸⁷ Každan, *Agrarnye otnošenija*, 64. The documents to which he refers are not conclusive on this matter: Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, iv, 266–267, and P. Lemerle, *Actes de Kutlumus* (Paris, 1945), no. 18, pp. 46–47.

⁸⁸ Petit, *Chilandar*, no. 76.

⁸⁹ Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, iv (1293), 231–232; cf. *Acta*, vi, 153–156; Petit, *Xénophon*, no. II (1300), p. 30.

⁹⁰ Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, iv, pp. 34–41, 278–282; cf. Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, vi, 212–214.

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times, the peasants were represented by the *nomikos* of the village, who was usually a priest. The richest and oldest inhabitants of a village or of a *pronoia* played an important role as witnesses in disputes both among the villagers and between landlords. The "best" ("κρείττονες") inhabitants of Ierissos were asked to appear as witnesses in a land dispute between Lavra and Zographou, as did the *gerontes* of Roudava in the dispute between Chilandar and Lavra.⁹¹ In Asia Minor, the landlord Syrgares assembled the "best householders of the village" to decide on disputes among his *paroikoi*.⁹² The *protogeroi* of a village were, presumably, old, respected inhabitants, with some property, whose word carried weight in the internal affairs of the village and played a role in the relations of the village with the landlord.⁹³

In Asia Minor in the thirteenth century, the action of villages against their landlords was not limited to judicial disputes. The inhabitants of the village Vari refused to pay taxes to their landlord, the monastery of Lemviotissa, did not perform labor services, and incited the poorer peasants whom the monastery had installed in the village to act in the same manner. The monastery had lent the villagers some money, and they had no intention of paying it back; the Emperor ordered them to obey the monks and pay their

⁹¹ Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, iv, 38, 173, 198, 232, 278–282; vi, 153–156; Regel, Kurtz, Korablev, *Zographou*, no. vii, p. 20, no. xxxviii; Petit, *Chilandar*, no. 19.

⁹² Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, iv, 82: "παρὰ τῶν κρείττωνων οικοδεσποτῶν τοῦ χωρίου αὐτῶν . . ."; cf. p. 81: "οἱ κρείττονες τῆς προνοίας αὐτοῦ . . ."

⁹³ Lavra, Selas, 1300, 41; Lavra, Linovrocheion, 1321; Regel, Kurtz, Korablev, *Zographou*, nos. xli, xlii; L. Petit, *Actes de Pantocrator*, *Vizantiiskij Vremennik*, 10 (1903), appendix 2, nos. iii (1358), iv (1363); Iveron, Melintziani, 1341, 33; Iveron, Kato Volvos, 1341, 12; Dölger, "Sechs Praktika," p. 19, no. 44, suggests that the γέρων ("old") Stamates in Iveron, Xylorygion, 1300, 1, is also a *protogeros*. It is possible, however, that the appellation "old" refers simply to age; cf. Iveron, Kato Volvos, 1341, 7. On the *protogeroi* see also Každan, *Agrarnye otnošenija*, 88–89, and Tsiirpanlis, "Byzantine Parliaments," 436–437.

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dues. The inhabitants of a neighboring village called Prinovaris also harassed the monks: they demanded cheeses, they trespassed on vineyards of the monastery and burned them, they stole some animals, oil, and wheat, and hit the abbot of the monastery as well as several monks.⁹⁴ On the other hand, Southeastern Macedonia was so heavily feudalized, that the majority of the disputes took place between the landlords themselves. The reaction of the Macedonian peasant to feudalization is to be seen less in violent action than in his flight from his landlord.

In summary, it seems clear that the Macedonian village of the fourteenth century had lost or was rapidly losing its independence. Its inhabitants were becoming dependent peasants of lay or monastic proprietors. The village had lost many of its collective rights and responsibilities with regard to the fisc, and yet in some respects it had retained a certain cohesion and some vestiges of its function as a community. In the eyes of the fisc, it preserved its existence as a unit composed of land and its inhabitants; it even had a few collective obligations not, however, to the state, but to the landlord. Finally, the village probably acted as a unit in its economic relations with the landlord, and preserved judicial and administrative functions.⁹⁵ To the degree that fragmentation of landlord property existed, of course, even these aspects of the collective existence of the village must have been further eroded.

The countryside in the themes of Thessaloniki and Strymon was becoming rapidly feudalized in the fourteenth century. Entire villages, or parts of villages, were given to

⁹⁴ Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, iv, 255-260.

⁹⁵ Každan, *Agrarnye otnošenija*, 74-77 deduces the survival of a much closer communal bond from the occasional appearance of common ownership of property among brothers. He argues that this shows the survival of an earlier community, where the members lived in extended families and owned property in common. As will be seen in chapter III, common ownership of property between cousins or brothers was a transitory phenomenon, and cannot be taken to be the survival of a system of communal ownership of property.

monastic and lay landlords. The monasteries of Mount Athos held large properties here, Lavra and Iveron being the richest in terms of lands and *paroikoi*. A number of small and middle-sized lay landlords were also granted property in this area. Some idea of the number of these landlords is provided by appendix 1, which lists the lay landlords who appear in our sources. Unfortunately, detailed information about them is lacking. There is only a small number of extant *praktika* of lay proprietors. They concern the villages Chandax and Nesion from the *pronoia* of Michael Monomachos, which were later incorporated into the possessions of Zographou, the *pronoiai* of Michael Saventzes, Nikolaos Maroules, and Manouel Berilas, all of whom were "soldiers" stationed in Thessaloniki, and of Ioannes Margarites, who was given some lands in the theme of Strymon.⁹⁶ The annual revenue of these *oikonomiai* ranged from 55 *hyperpyra* (Margarites) to 113 *hyperpyra* (Monomachos).⁹⁷ By comparison, the monastery of Iveron in 1320 had from the village of Gomatou alone an annual revenue of 123.5 *hyperpyra*, while Lavra in 1321 received 165.33 *hyperpyra* just from the tax (*telos*) paid by the inhabitants of Selas.

A common characteristic of the lay *pronoiai* under discussion is their relatively small annual revenues. Another common trait is the fact that the *paroikoi* of all the lay proprietors, Berilas excepted, owned parcels of "arable land" ("γῆ"). For the rest, however, there are significant differences between them. Thus, Saventzes and Maroules had fairly extensive domain lands (2,100 *modioi* and 2,050 *modioi* respectively) and few peasant households (8 and 17), while Monomachos had 27 peasant households and only 575 *modioi* of land. In all three cases, the land in

⁹⁶ Regel, Kurtz, Korablev, *Zographou*, no. xxix; Unpublished *praktika* of Xenophon, Laurent nos. 17, 18; Schreiner, "Zwei Praktika"; Lemerle, "Praktikon inédit."

⁹⁷ It is stated in the *praktikon* that 50 *hyperpyra* were granted to Monomachos in hereditary possession; the entire annual revenue, however, was 113 *hyperpyra*.

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question is situated in the same general area as the households of the *paroikoi*. The same is true of Berilas, who owned 13 families of *paroikoi*, living in the village Langa-vikeia, 2,000 *modioi* of land in the same village, and 2,500 *modioi* of land in an undetermined area. Margarites, however, owned 19 families of *paroikoi* from four different villages, and the only domain land mentioned in the grant consisted of 1,000 *modioi* of swampy land and prairies situated in the same general area as the peasant households, and 550 *modioi* of land in the theme of Thessaloniki, which clearly was far removed from the villages of his *paroikoi*. Thus, in this case, land was granted in fairly large parcels, but seems to have had little physical, fiscal or juridical relation with the villages in which the *paroikoi* lived. This dispersion may be due to the fact that the grant to Margarites consisted of confiscated properties of other landlords.⁹⁸

GOMATOU

The village Gomatou, of which a closer study is made in this book, lay in the eastern part of Chalkidike, which contains portions of the two peneplains. The village of Revenikeia is near Gomatou, lies on the higher peneplain, and has quite good farmland. The modern village of Gomati, which is close to the medieval village, is in a small plain, with a stream and farms.⁹⁹ In the Middle Ages, the village

⁹⁸ Sometimes, soldiers were merely granted revenues, not the physical possession of a village. This seems to be the meaning of a chryso-bull given to the monastery of Iveron by Stephen Dušan in 1346. By this chryso-bull, Dušan gave to the monastery an income of 400 *hyperpyra*, "which their possession Radolivous gave . . . originally to the Imperial treasury and then to the soldiers . . . that is, 200 *hyperpyra* as *zeugaratikion*, and 200 as *kephalaion*: "ἀπερ ἐδίδου τὸ κτῆμα αὐτῶν τοῦ Ραδολιβου . . . ἤγουν τὰ μὲν 200 ὑπέρπυρα ὑπὲρ ζευγαρτικίου, τὰ δὲ 200 ὑπὲρ κεφαλαίου . . .": Al. Soloviev, V. Mošin, *Grčke povelje srpskih vladara, Fontes rerum Slavorum meridionalium*, ser. 6, *Fontes lingua Graeca conscripti*, II, nos. 6, 7.

⁹⁹ Ogilvie, "Southern Macedonia," 190.

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of Gomatou and Develikeia (their lands were merged in 1321) had at least two streams and two or three dry river beds (χείμαρροι). Thus, it had its own sources of water, as did most villages; in the *periorismoι*, we usually find a stream, or one or more wells, or fountains (βρύση) within the confines of the village. The territory of Gomatou extended as far as the sea on one side; its boundaries touched the mountain Pachys Vounos, and climbed upon a hill. The village bordered on areas owned by the monasteries of Iveron, Chilandar, and Docheiariou, and on the territory of Ierissos. Only a small proportion (about 9 percent) of its land was arable while the rest was mountainous, uncultivated land. In 1300–1301 and 1320–1321 its peasant inhabitants owned virtually no *ge*, and very few mules or horses. They did own oxen; in 1300–1301, 18 of the 130 households had one ox each, 24 had two oxen each, and 4 had three oxen each, with a mean of 0.62 oxen. This mean fell somewhat in 1320–1321 (0.5). There were a fair number of pigs (0.8 in 1300–1301, 0.5 in 1320–1321), and quite a large number of fruit trees. Indeed, factor analysis shows that ownership of pigs and fruit trees is somewhat correlated, no doubt because the kind of land which allows for extensive fruit cultivation also has acorns on which pigs can be fed.¹⁰⁰ The inhabitants of Gomatou engaged in viticulture, and had small plots of vineyards, with means of 2.2 *modioi* in 1300–1301 and 1.6 *modioi* in 1320–1321. These plots were in small parcels, and frequently bordered on the plots of neighbors. The inhabitants also had a fair number of sheep and goats,

¹⁰⁰ It should be noted that in general factor analysis has proved to be an unnecessarily sophisticated technique for our kind of data. Concerning fruit trees, there is a discrepancy between the *praktika* of Iveron and Lavra for the year 1320–1321. The *paroikoi* of Iveron are listed as having an average of 20 trees, while those of Lavra possessed a mean of 0.97 trees. Such a great discrepancy probably points at a different base of assessment. The *paroikoi* of Iveron and Lavra are noted as having held an approximately equal number of trees (2.7 and 1.28 respectively) in 1300–1301, and that figure was close to the figure listed for Lavra in 1321. In 1341, the *paroikoi* of Iveron had an average of 16.9 trees. Cf. Lefort, "Fiscalité médiévale," 322.

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with a mean of 9 animals per household in 1300–1301. By 1320–1321, this mean had been reduced to 4.12, probably reflecting the results of the ravages of the Catalan campaign, especially since it was the larger flocks of 80 to 200 sheep that disappeared. These flocks grazed on the uncultivated land and probably on the cultivated lands after the harvest.

The inhabitants of Gomatou, like those of any other village, cultivated the land with a primitive, ox-drawn plough, which did not much differ from the rather inefficient scratch plough of the ancient Greeks.¹⁰¹ They probably cultivated their land in a system of two-field rotation; the fields were sown with both winter crops (wheat and rye) and spring crops, that is, barley, millet, oats, and legumes.¹⁰² The crop yields—calculated as the ratio of harvest to seed—are not precisely known for Macedonia in the fourteenth century. Hvosťova suggests that the yield was approximately 2:1 for land of the best quality, but has no evidence for this figure. In the Cypriot village of Psimolofu, which was on fertile and irrigated soil and therefore comparable, to some degree, to the soil of Macedonia, the wheat yield in the fourteenth century was 3:1 or 4:1. This figure is attested, and it is also likely, for in Western Europe, in the same period, which was a period of agricultural decline, the yield of harvest to seed was 3.8:1 in the case of wheat.¹⁰³ A yield of approximately 3:1 is more likely for Macedonia than is Hvosťova's figure of 2:1. The agricultural implements known to the peasants were, apart from the plough, the sickle and spade; they also had mills, both water mills and windmills, and mills where animals provided the power.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Kaźdan, *Agrarnye otnoŗenija*, 43, 62–63.

¹⁰² Kondov, "K voprosu o sisteme polevodstva," 12–13; Hvosťova, *Osobennosti*, 73–76.

¹⁰³ Hvosťova, *Osobennosti*, 75–76; Jean Richard, "Le Casal de Psimolofu et la vie rurale en Chypre au XIV^e sićcle," *Mćlanges d'archćologie et d'histoire*, 59 (1947), 135 n. 1, 140, 141. Cf. H. A. Miskimin, *The Economy of Early Renaissance Europe, 1300–1460* (Englewood Cliffs, 1969), 25.

¹⁰⁴ Kaźdan, *Agrarnye otnoŗenija*, 43.

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In other words, the peasants of Gomatou, and of Macedonia, were engaged in a primitive sort of agriculture, where the most valuable animal was the ox and where human labor was very important. In such an agricultural system, the peasant is at the mercy of natural hazards. A drought, an invasion of locusts can easily make his surplus disappear, and even create a famine. Natural hazards, as well as man-made catastrophes—invasions, civil wars, razzias—were the peasant's perpetual enemy. In such a situation, non-economic factors, like natural and human hazards, were important determinants of the yield and of the economic condition of the peasant, along with economic factors such as ownership of land and oxen.¹⁰⁵

It has already been noted that land does not figure among the properties of the peasant households of Gomatou. It is assumed that the *paroikoi* cultivated the domain lands of Lavra and Iveron which, in 1300, consisted of a total of 2,850 *modioi*. This land seems to have been less than that which the peasants of this village *could* cultivate, given their manpower and the number of available oxen. It is possible to calculate, from other sources, the ratio of available men and oxen to cultivated land. A thirteenth-century land treatise says that a *ζεγγαράτος*—a peasant with a pair of oxen—should be given land of 40 *modioi*, while a *βοϊδάτος*—a peasant with one ox—should be given land of 30 *modioi*, and a *πέζος*—a peasant with no oxen—should be given land of 20 *modioi*. While it is not clear exactly what these figures are supposed to represent, it is obvious that they do not represent simply the amount of land the peasant is able to cultivate with the stated number of oxen. For the treatise then proceeds to give an example of the taxes which would be owed by a *proasteion* that had 11.5 *zeugaratoi* and 1367 *modioi* of cultivated land. Of these 1367 *modioi*, 470 would be given to the peasants, and would

¹⁰⁵ Každan, *Agrarnye otnošeniya*, 81; Hvosťova, *Osobennosti*, 74–77; for a general discussion of non-capitalist agriculture, see A. V. Chayanov, *The Theory of Peasant Economy*, eds. D. Thorner, B. Kerblay, R.E.F. Smith (Homewood, 1966).

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be taxed heavily, at 1.5 *hyperpyra* per *modios*; the rest of the land, which is specifically qualified as cultivated, would be taxed less heavily, at 0.3 *hyperpyra* per *modios*.¹⁰⁶ The example shows that the other "cultivated" land was cultivated by the same peasants. The yield of the second kind of land may have been lower than the yield of the land exploited directly by the peasants, or else the difference in the rate of taxation is merely due to a fiscal differentiation between land that was directly exploited by the peasants, and other cultivated land. Be that as it may, we learn from this document that with 23 oxen the peasants would cultivate 470 *modioi* of the land directly, and another 897 *modioi* in some other fashion; on the average, we obtain a figure of one ox per 60 *modioi*.¹⁰⁷

This ratio differs significantly from those which can be established for the village Gomatou in 1300–1301. The information for this village may be summarized on page 71. The ratio of oxen to land is here much higher than that of the Land Treatise, and even more high than that which can be established for the village Mamitzon, where the ratio of oxen to *total* land is 1:100, and that of oxen to *paroikike ge* is 1:46. The ratio of men to cultivated land also seems high, especially compared to that of Mamitzon, which was 1:60. Gomatou had no other cultivation which could use animal power extensively. Therefore, it is certain that the peasants of Gomatou must have worked on lands

¹⁰⁶ Th. Uspenskij, "Vizantijskie zemlemery," *Nabljudenija po istorii seljskago hozjajstva, Trudy VI arheologicheskago sjezda v Odesse*, II (Odessa, 1888), 307–308. Cf. N. Svoronos, *Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin*, 125. In the fourteenth century, a *zeugarion* was approximately 163 *modioi*: cf. Schilbach, *Metrologie*, 68–69. In the period of the Comnenoi, a *zeugaratos* owned 100 *modioi* of best quality land, or 300 *modioi* of land of second quality, therefore, a mean of 150 *modioi*: Svoronos, *Cadastre*, 139–141.

¹⁰⁷ This figure is close to Svoronos' average of 150 *modioi* of land as the holding of a *zeugaratos*: Svoronos, *Cadastre*, 139–141, and Svoronos, "Petite et grande exploitation à Byzance," *Annales, Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 11 (1956), 329–333. For Mamitzon, see Petit, *Chilandar*, no. 92.

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Gomatou, 1300-1301

Men	<i>Paroikike ge</i> (peasants' land, in <i>modioi</i>)	Cultivated land (in <i>modioi</i>)	Oxen
376	9	2,850	92

Ratios

Oxen to cultivated land	Men to cultivated land	Oxen to men
1:31	1:7.6	1:4.1

(These figures include the 32 households which are presumably missing from the *praktikon* of Lavra.)

outside those mentioned in the *praktika*. These could be lands owned by the same monasteries (Lavra and Iveron) in other villages, or they could be lands owned by the many small landlords in the area.

The internal structure of the villages of Macedonia, in social and demographic terms, may be determined, at least to a certain degree, from the information given in the *praktika*. The peasant family and the peasant household (the *stasis*) are the social, juridical, and economic units which will be examined in the next three chapters.

CHAPTER III

Family and Kinship

THE countryside of southeastern Macedonia emerges from our sources not only in its physical aspect but also in its characteristics as a social environment. Beneath the fiscal character of the Byzantine *praktika*, the researcher can find traces of the organization of the peasant society in terms of family and kinship. It is possible to study the kind of households people lived in, the kinship structure, the process of formation of names, the system of inheritance. One can thus form a fairly complete picture of peasant society at the fundamental level where institutions were formed by an interaction of spontaneous social links, state action, and developing feudalism.

In this investigation, as in everything else, the researcher is limited to some degree by the specific nature of the sources. It is dangerous to assume that the information given in the *praktika* always reflects the actual organization of society, since the *praktika* were drawn up for fiscal purposes, and may, therefore, merely reflect a bureaucratic structure superimposed on the actual situation and disguising it. Such a problem arises with regard to the basic unit used by the censor, which consisted of a number of people, their property (if any) and the tax they paid. Here we undoubtedly have a fiscal unit. What is its relationship to the family and to the residence unit which formed the peasant household in sociological terms? David Jacoby, who has made a study of the Byzantine peasantry in the fourteenth century, distinguishes between the family, the socio-biological unit; the household, the socio-economic

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unit; and the "hearth" ("feu"), the fiscal unit. The three may or may not coincide in any given case. This differentiation is useful because it forces one to consider all three functions—socio-biological, economic, and fiscal—of the family and the household. In reality, of course, the socio-biological and economic functions are closely tied together.

Sociologists define the family as that social unit which is based on biological consanguinity and/or marital affinity, and which also performs social functions: the education and societization of children and the maintenance of the elderly generation. Defining the household is not an easy matter. Basically, the household is a unit whose members hold property in common and reside together, whether the actual residence is in a single house or in more than one house, close to each other. The distinguishing traits of the household, then, are co-residence and the common ownership of property. However, this definition contains a number of problems in practice. How strictly should co-residence be defined, and is living under one roof to be considered as functionally different from simply eating at one table? Is consanguinity to be a defining factor, or are lodgers and boarders to be considered as part of the household?¹ In our data, we have no boarders or lodgers or servants, so that problem does not arise. The question of co-residence, however, does arise, particularly in the theme of Strymon, where, in the *apographe* of 1316, we find a number of

¹ For such formal definitions of the family, see, for example, A. J. Coale *et al.*, *Aspects of the Analysis of Family Structure* (Princeton, N. J., 1965), essay by Marion J. Levy, 2-3, or G. P. Murdock, "The Universality of the Nuclear Family," in N. W. Bell, E. Vogel, *The Family* (Glencoe, Ill., 1960), 37. On the social role of the family, see Bell and Vogel, *The Family*, 41-44. The family as a unit of education and societization is called one's family of orientation; the parent of this family is the family of procreation: Bell and Vogel, *The Family*, 1. My use of the term "family" includes both the family of orientation and the family of procreation. For the problem of the definition of the household, see E. A. Hammel, "Household Structure in Fourteenth Century Macedonia," in J. A. Campbell, *Seven Studies of the Traditional Family in Southern Europe* (Oxford, forthcoming).

households where different brothers and their families live in distinct dwellings.²

The relationship between family and household is one which depends on the role one ascribes to the ownership of property. If we include common ownership of property in our definition of the family, then the boundaries between the functions of the household and family become blurred. Indeed in our data we find a number of permutations. Sometimes, a group of biologically related people form one household, in the sense that they live together, own property together, and form one unit of taxation. However, this household owns *some* property in common with another household, which is related to it by blood ties. In this case, family and household are intermingled. This is probably the result of an earlier stage, when the two households were one; they probably both descended from an original household, and part of the property was not divided in the process of individuation. This is clearly the case in certain households in the villages Radolivous, Ovelos, and Dovrovikeia in the theme of Strymon in 1316. Here, a number of brothers and their families might own property in common and pay a common tax, although they lived in several houses.³ Since we do not know how close together the houses were, we cannot speak of co-residence proper. But we have the family tie, and the common ownership of property. In the majority of cases, however, the

² There are, on the other hand, cases where a member of a household may reside elsewhere; he is a *proskathemenos* in another area, but is still counted as part of the household: see, for example, Ioannes Voulos, counted as being a member of the village Radolivous, although he is living elsewhere: F. Dölger, "Sechs byzantinische Praktika des 14. Jahrhunderts für das Athoskloster Iberon," *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-historische Klasse*, N.F., 28 (1949), RK, line 22.

³ These cases bear a certain resemblance to the *zadruga* as discussed by Engels after Kovalevsky; that is, to a group consisting of the descendants of one father, tilling the fields in common and owning all surplus in common: Fr. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (New York, 1971), 51-52.

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various households consist of people who are related by blood or marriage, reside together, and own property in common, while they do not own property in common with other households to which they are related by blood or marriage. Thus, if we take common ownership of property to form part of the definition of the family, in the majority of cases household and family coincide. It must be stressed, however, that both the household and the family are not static but dynamic groups, and within a generation their structure may change. Thus, a household which at one point consisted of a couple and their married children may, after the children have married and division of property has taken place, become two or more separate households. This does not necessarily mean that each new household had become a totally separate economic unit, since the landed property of the various households probably lay in contiguous parcels, thus encouraging cooperation, while the draft animals were also probably shared. Thus, for example, Demetrios, the son of Vasileios Stanilas, who lived in Selas in 1300, had in his household his wife, two married sons, two unmarried sons, an unmarried daughter, and a granddaughter. In 1321, the household had split into four, or possibly five, headed by three (or four) of Demetrios' sons, and by one grandson. The new householders had inherited Demetrios' garden and vineyards, and shared the fruit trees of the original *stasis*. The entries in the *praktikon* included "two-thirds *modioi* from his father's plot and one-eighth share of the family trees," "one-fifth of the family vineyard," and so on. In a case like this, economic cooperation between the households is bound to have continued; however, the households did not own this property in common.⁴

The difficulty in distinguishing between family and household results from the fact that we are dealing with dynamic, changing structures, over which we are trying to

⁴ Lavra, Selas, 1300, 34; 1321, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50. Cf. also Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 46; Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 31; Lavra, Selas, 1300, 5.

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impose a static definition.⁵ Perhaps the most that can be done is to take note of the problem, realizing the limitations of the terminology.

Some difficulties also appear when the historian tries to establish the relationship between the household and the fiscal unit, the hearth. The hearth is the unit which constitutes the entries in our records; its defining characteristic is that its members pay a common tax for their property. In the great majority of cases, in the theme of Thessaloniki, the hearth coincides with the household. But it is not so in the theme of Strymon. There, the *apographe* of 1316 for the monastery of Iveron contains a large number of households which consist of two or more married brothers (or other relatives) living in different houses and owning only some of their property in common, but paying their taxes together. An example is the first hearth registered in Voriskos in 1316. Pangalos Kaloptetos had a wife, two sons and three daughters; he owned a house, a *zeugarion*, four cows, a donkey, ten goats and two pigs. His niece's husband Beleanos, had a wife, two sons, his own house, and one *voidion*. The two men owned together a vineyard of 13 *modioi*, and paid a tax of three *hyperpyra*. Similarly, the second entry in the same village consists of Nikolaos Pelekanos Souroulas, and two of his married brothers. At least two of the three brothers had their own houses; two of the brothers, or possibly all three, owned a vineyard of 10 *modioi*, and the unit paid a tax of 2.5 *hyperpyra*.⁶ Here,

⁵ D. Jacoby sees a greater discrepancy than I do between the family and the household. In great part, the difference between us stems from our different definitions of the family. Jacoby, I think, gives the name "family" to nuclear families only, and so distinguishes between nuclear families (under the generic name "famille") and households. I take the more generally accepted definition of the family, which includes extended families; thus, in the case of a mother-in-law living with her married son, I would call this a household which is coincidental with an extended family, whereas Jacoby would call it non-coincidental. D. Jacoby, "Phénomènes de démographie rurale à Byzance aux XIII^e, XIV^e et XV^e siècles," *Etudes rurales*, 5-6 (1962), 171.

⁶ Dölger, "Sechs Praktika," RK, Voriskos, 1316, 1, 2. In the house-

the factor of co-residence is absent; on the other hand, ownership of property lies partly within each unit of residence and partly within the fiscal unit. By 1341, the incidence of such arrangements becomes less common.

An insight into what happened is afforded by the hearth of Leon Paschales, in Radolivous. In 1316, this fiscal unit consisted of Leon himself and his nuclear family, his brother Theodoros with his own nuclear family, and his nephew Theodoros who had a brother with him. Leon and his brother Theodoros each had his own house and property; but the two brothers—and probably the nephew also—owned together a vineyard of 20 *modioi* and paid 4 *hyperpyra* in taxes. By 1341, the situation had changed. There were now three distinct households, headed by a Theodoros Paschales, his cousin Ioannes “son of Leon,” and Ioannes Paschales; it is clear that the Theodoros Paschales who appears here is the nephew of Leon Paschales of the earlier *apographe*. Ioannes Paschales is probably the son of the elder Theodoros Paschales of 1316, and thus another cousin of Theodoros and of Ioannes the son of Leon. Each of these men had his own nuclear family, while Ioannes Paschales also had a married brother, his wife, and two sons living with him. Each man also had his own house, his own property, and paid his own tax. They owned no property in common. The original 20 *modioi* of vineyard seem to have been split up: Theodoros had 5 *modioi*, Ioannes the son of Leon had 6 *modioi* and Ioannes Paschales had 7 *modioi*, of which some had been given to his sisters as dowry.⁷ Whether this division of the land and of the tax obligations reflects a real process of division of an original household, or whether it is merely an administrative, fiscal subdivision, is not easy to determine.

This chapter deals primarily with the family in its biological and social roles. Economic factors will be discussed here

hold of Souroulas, the term “οἱ ἀμφότεροι,” referring to the owners of the 10 *modioi* of vineyard, may mean either two or three brothers.

⁷ Dölger, “Sechs Praktika,” RK, line 83, RV, line 107.

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to some extent, since the family also played an economic role. More detailed discussion of the household as an economic unit is reserved for chapter v.

The Byzantine family, as it emerges from our documents, is a patriarchal one in which men played the primary role as heads of household, as owners of property, and as the people responsible for the payment of taxes. After marriage, residence was commonly virilocal or patrivirilocal; that is, the bride went to live at her husband's house or at the house of her husband's father.⁸ Relationships were established and family names were formed mostly through the male line. However, within that general framework, it must be stressed that women too played an important role; they did own property, they could become heads of household, and occasionally a man went to live at his wife's house or at the house of his wife's mother. Names also were occasionally formed through the female rather than through the male line. The circumstances in which women might have the predominant role in a household will be discussed subsequently.

A typical household of a fourteenth-century Byzantine monastic *paroikos* would be the following: "Ioannes, son of Kamateros, has Eirene, sons Andreas, Michael and Demetrios, daughter Maria."⁹ The household is headed by a man, who is identified by his Christian name and by relationship to his father; his father's name is a nickname, Kamateros being roughly translated as "the industrious

⁸ By virilocal residence is meant residence of the wife in her husband's home; it is contrasted to uxorilocal residence, where the man moves into his wife's home. Patrilocal residence refers to residence with one's paternal kin, whereas matrilocal residence refers to residence with one's maternal kin. The terms virilocal and patrilocal were used in a confused manner until lately, when the difference between the two was recognized and pointed out: Murdock, "Universality," 38; Clyde Kluckhohn, "Variations in the Human Family," in Bell and Vogel, *The Family*, 48; D. M. Schneider, Kathleen Gough, *Matrilineal Kinship* (Berkeley, 1962), *passim*; Jack Goody, *Comparative Studies in Kinship* (Stanford, 1969), 76, 81, 188.

⁹ Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 4.

one." The other members of the household are linked to the head by the verb "to have," which is also used for his property. The male members of each generation precede the female members in the listing. Occasionally, the household may include "adopted children" ("νόθετός") or stepchildren. Here, both adopted children and stepchildren have been treated in the same way as biological offspring, since the family is a social as well as a biological unit. Furthermore, Byzantine law treated adopted children like biological offspring in many respects. For example, the inheritance law protected the rights of adopted children to some degree. That is, adopted children would be heirs to the property of their father, if he died intestate; they did not, however, have the right to dispute their adopted father's will, if they were not mentioned in it.¹⁰ As for stepchildren, it is possible that they had a first claim on the property of their natural father, but this is not at all clear from the records. A large proportion of the stepchildren mentioned in our sources appear in households whose head is the *antisekos* (replacement) of another. What presumably happened is that when a *paroikos* died, his widow married another man who became responsible for the *stasis* (the household), and also assumed responsibility for the children of the first marriage.¹¹

The typical household of the Macedonian *paroikos* is a nuclear family, that is, a married couple with their unmarried children.¹² Nuclear families form the great majority

¹⁰ Constantine Harmenopoulos, *Manuale legum sive Hexabiblos*, ed. G. E. Heimbach (Leipzig, 1851), 652.

¹¹ For examples of *antisekoi* with stepchildren, see Iveron, Gomatou, 1341, 6; Iveron, Kato Volvos, 1341, 6. It may be argued that it is demographically inaccurate to count stepchildren and adopted children as the biological offspring of a couple. This objection is certainly valid, but unimportant, because the number of children involved is so minuscule as to make no statistical difference.

¹² An argument has been made that the nuclear family is a universal type of family formation, underlying even structures from which it would at first glance seem to be absent. This is argued in sociological terms in Bell and Vogel, *The Family, passim*. It is refuted

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of the households, as can be seen from table III-1. A significant number of households, however, consisted not of nuclear families but of various types of extended family. The second largest category in the theme of Thessaloniki consists of the simple extended family, or vertically extended family, which comprises at least two generations and at least two nuclear families or members thereof.¹³ That is, the household here consists of an older couple (or a widowed member thereof) and their married child or children, as well as any unmarried children that may still be living under the parental roof. The household may include three generations, if the younger couples have children of their own; it is very rare for any great-grandchildren to exist at the same time as their great-grandparents. The third most important category consists of the laterally extended family, where affiliation is through sibling relationship, that is, where brothers and sisters form nuclear families that live in the same household, or in the same hearth. A small category (IV) includes families which are both vertically and laterally extended.

It is clear from table III-1 that in the theme of Strymon the structure of the household has different characteristics. The nuclear family predominates here also, but is proportionally less significant than in the theme of Thessaloniki. Furthermore, the second most important category is not the vertically extended family but the laterally extended one.

It is also clear that the structure of the households of the lay *pronoiai*, as seen in this table, does not differ significantly from that of the monastic properties. We are therefore justified in considering the data concerning the monastic *paroikoi* to be applicable to the entire dependent peasant population of Macedonia in this instance.

by Marion Levy in Coale, *Aspects of Family Structure*. A similar argument has been presented by historians concerning western Europe: *infra*, n. 14.

¹³ Murdock, "Universality," 38; Coale, *Aspects of Family Structure*, 42, 43.

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TABLE III-1

Structure of the Household

<i>Apographe</i>	Type I ^a	Type II	Type III	Type IV	Number of Observations
<i>Theme of Thessaloniki</i>					
1300 - 1301	66%	16%	13%	5%	406
1320 - 1321	71%	14%	11%	3%	957
1338 - 1341	64%	23%	9%	3%	180
<i>Theme of Strymon^b</i>					
1316	51%	16%	25%	8%	274
1320	58%	22%	22%	0	55
1341	49%	16%	30%	5%	235
<i>Lay Pronoiai^c</i>					
1321 - 1325	63%	13%	16%	8%	38
1341 - 1342	74%	13%	4%	9%	46

^aType I: nuclear family

Type II: vertically extended family

Type III: laterally extended family

Type IV: vertically and laterally extended family.

^bFor 1316 and 1341 I have used the *apographai* of the villages Ovelos, Dovrovikeia, Radolivos, and Voriskos, for the monastery of Iveron (Dölger, "Sechs byzantinische Praktika"); for 1320, I have used the *apographe* of various villages near Strumitsa, from the unpublished praktikon of Iveron, Collège de France, no. 43.

^cFor 1321-1325 I have used the *pronoiai* of Saventzes, Maroules and Berilas; for 1341, I have the *pronoiai* of Monomachos and Margarites.

The question of the structure of the household in pre-industrial societies has received a great deal of attention. It has been argued that the nuclear family, far from being a modern development, arising out of the conditions created by the Industrial Revolution, was the form which statistically predominated in Europe in the medieval and early modern periods. It is argued, in other words, that the structure of the household has not altered significantly over hundreds of years.¹⁴ On the other hand, demographers have

¹⁴ Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost* (New York, 1965), 89-92; Laslett, "Size and Structure of the Household in England

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pointed out that the structure of the household is not a static phenomenon but a dynamic one, that families go through cycles where an extended stage might be succeeded by a nuclear stage and then perhaps become extended again, so that the important question is to determine what the pattern of household structure is at any given point in the cycle, and not to be misled by overall statistical descriptions. Furthermore, a distinction has been drawn between the household structure which a society considers to be optimum and the one that can be achieved. For example, polygamy may be the norm among the upper economic strata in a society, although the majority of the population cannot achieve it because it cannot afford it. In the same way, vertically extended families may be important in a society, but cannot predominate statistically because of the shortness of life, and perhaps because of economic reasons. It has been estimated that in a pre-industrial society the total percentage of three-generation families could not exceed 30.¹⁵

Over Three Centuries," *Population Studies*, 23 (1969), 199-223. Among those who stress the fact that vertically extended families cannot be statistically predominant in any society, and who stress the importance of the cyclical element in household structure, see: E. A. Wrigley, *Population and History* (New York, 1969), 131-134; M. J. Levy, in Coale, *Aspects of Family Structure, passim*; Jack Goody, "The Fission of Domestic Groups Among the Lo-dagaba," in Goody, *The Developmental Cycle in Domestic Groups*, Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology, no. 1 (Cambridge, 1958), 53-91; Lutz Berkner, "The Stem Family and the Developmental Cycle of the Peasant Household: An Eighteenth-Century Austrian Example," *American Historical Review*, 77 (1972), 407-408; W. J. Goode, *World Revolution and Family Patterns* (New York, 1963), 371; T. K. Burch, "Some Demographic Determinants of Average Household Size: An Analytic Approach," *Demography*, 7 (1970), 61, and "Comparative Family Structure: A Demographic Approach," *Estadística*, 26 (1968), 291.

¹⁵ Coale, *Aspects of Family Structure*, 41 and n. 33; Berkner, "Stem Family," 407-408. Berkner finds that his sample contained only 25 percent extended families. When controlling for age of head of household, however, the proportion varies from 0 percent to 60 percent: *ibid.*, 406.

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Thus, modern researchers, both social anthropologists and historians, have pointed out the importance of the time element involved in any sociological observation of domestic or family groups, since these change, grow and dissolve over time, cyclically. Laws or customs of succession and inheritance play an important role in the domestic cycle, as do patterns of production, customs governing marriage, and economic elements. The case of the Macedonian peasants is no exception. When the types of household are broken down according to the age of the head of household and according to wealth, it can readily be seen that nuclear and extended families are not universally distributed. Unfortunately, the age distribution is not such as to permit us to distinguish all the aspects of the cycle, for we are able to observe only two ages among the heads of household, that is, those who are between approximately 20 and 45 years old (Age II), and those over 45 (Age III). Even so, it is at least clear that the type of household is closely correlated with the age of the head of household. Table III-2 shows the breakdown of types of household by age of the head of household in the monastic possessions of the Theme of Thessaloniki. The table is limited to the male heads of household, but the figures for female heads of household are very similar. The strength of the correlation can be summed up by reference to Cramer's V, a correlation coefficient which ranges from +1 to -1. These coefficients are quite high, ranging from 0.517 for 1320-1321 to 0.795 for 1338-1341. For widows who act as heads of household, the coefficients are: 0.82 in 1300-1301, 0.782 in 1320-1321, 0.767 in 1338-1341.

Table III-2 shows that, in the case of vertically extended households, the majority are headed by members of the older generation; conversely, a majority of the older heads of household live in vertically extended households. Nuclear families predominate among members of the middle age group, while the vast majority of laterally extended families is headed by people of the same age group. The likely

TABLE III-2

Breakdown of Type of Household by Age of Head, Male Heads of Household,
Theme of Thessaloniki, Main Sample

Type of Household Cramer's V = 0.621	Age II			Age III		
	Row %	Column %	Total %	Row %	Column %	Total %
I	98%	78%	66%	2%	9%	1%
II	5%	0.7%	0.6%	95%	80%	11%
III	98%	16%	14%	0	0	0
IV	74%	5%	4%	26%	11%	2%

1300 - 1301
n = 315

Type of Household Cramer's V = 0.517	Age II			Age III		
	Row %	Column %	Total %	Row %	Column %	Total %
I	94%	81%	70%	6%	32%	4%
II	15%	2%	2%	86%	66%	9%
III	97%	14%	12%	1%	1%	0.1%
IV	95%	3%	3%	5%	1%	0.1%

1320 - 1321
n = 721

Type of Household Cramer's V = 0.795	Age II			Age III		
	Row %	Column %	Total %	Row %	Column %	Total %
I	97%	79%	64%	3%	12%	2%
II	19%	5%	4%	82%	85%	16%
III	100%	14%	11%	0	0	0
IV	75%	3%	2%	25%	4%	0.7%

1338 - 1341
n = 135

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domestic cycle starts with older people living with at least one married couple and its children. The other children would form their own nuclear families upon marriage, perhaps adding some siblings to their nuclear family. After the older people died, their extended household would become nuclear. Sometimes, widowed or single siblings might be added to this household also, making it into a laterally extended household. With the passage of time, the new heads of household would grow old, and form a vertically extended household with one or more of their married children, thus completing the cycle. As has been pointed out, only a minority of the population can have lived in vertically extended families at any given point. On the other hand, although the nuclear family is statistically predominant, the great majority of people must have lived in an extended household of some kind at a certain point in their lives.

It has been observed, both historically and in modern societies, that economic factors influence the structure of the household. Land possession is a particularly important factor, positively correlated with the incidence of extended families. The poorer households tend to consist of nuclear families, whereas larger households coincide with possession of land.¹⁶ Such a positive correlation exists in our sample also, although what it connotes is a matter of interpretation.

The tax paid by each household may be used as a rough measure of wealth, since it was a property tax in most cases, and not a head tax. By taking the mean tax for our sample (approximately one *hyperpyron*) and subdividing the population into households paying more than the mean ("rich") and households paying less than the mean ("poor"), we can observe the relationship between wealth and household structure. It may be seen in table III-3 that, whereas the nuclear family is everywhere predominant, it is much more common among the poorer households. The richer

¹⁶ Berkner, "Stem Family," 407ff.

TABLE III-3

Structure of the Household: Breakdown by Wealth

Apographe	Type I		Type II		Type III		Type IV		Number		
	Poor	Rich	Poor	Rich	Poor	Rich	Poor	Rich	Poor	Rich	
1300 - 1301	74.5%	47.5%	11%	28%	11%	16%	3.5%	9%	286	123	
1320 - 1321	77%	63%	8%	23%	13%	9%	2%	5%	557	401	
1338 - 1341	68.5%	41%	20.5%	38%	8%	14%	3%	7%	150	30	
			a. Theme of Thessaloniki, Main Sample								
1300 - 1301	84%	47%	9%	25%	7%	22%	1%	6%	93	37	
1320 - 1321	80%	61%	9%	29%	10%	7%	1%	3%	91	59	
1341	75%	63%	17%	25%	8%	13%	0	0	24	8	
			b. Village Gomatou								

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households have a consistently higher incidence of vertically extended and fully extended families than do the poorer households. Such a distinction cannot be made about laterally extended households, however.

The phenomena observed in table III-3 may be interpreted in at least two different ways. If there is a causal relationship between wealth and household structure, it can only be that a household comprises as many people as it can support. Rich households are extended households because, as each generation grows up, it has no reason to leave, since there is enough on the household to support several people. Furthermore, there are probably economies of scale to be achieved, since the members of a relatively large household can apply their labor more rationally, use fewer animals and implements than they would use if they lived in separate households, and thus exploit their resources in a more efficient manner. This seems to be the interpretation underlying the theory that richer households tend to be extended.

However, if one reaches this conclusion by comparing the total resources of the various households, as has been done in table III-3, then the interpretation given above does not necessarily follow.¹⁷ It is possible that the positive correlation between wealth and household structure is not the result of a causal relationship, but merely the result of a pooling of resources; in other words, it is possible that each nuclear family in an extended household is no richer on its own than the nuclear families which form separate households. In order to obviate this difficulty, it is necessary to find the mean wealth (as measured by the tax) per couple per household. It is then possible to run a simple regression using as dependent variable the mean of the tax per couple per household, and as independent variable the household structure.¹⁸ The results then show that there is a

¹⁷ Berkner, "Stem Family," 408, has also based his conclusions on total wealth (or, in his case, land) per household.

¹⁸ Simple regression analysis allows us to see how much of the

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negligible positive correlation between wealth and household structure. For 1300–1301, the r^2 is 0.004, explaining only 0.4 percent of the variance, for 1320–1321 it is even smaller at 0.0012, and for 1338–1341 it is somewhat larger, at 0.052, explaining 5 percent of the variance. It is therefore clear that we are not witnessing here a causal relationship between wealth and household structure. It is a mere pooling of resources, perhaps tending toward greater efficiency. The reason for this discrepancy between theoretical expectation and observable reality must be sought in the fact that the peasant *stasis* was not a self-sufficient enterprise. Most of the peasants lived by cultivating the monastic domain, even when they had some land of their own. Thus, the size of the peasant holding was not the only, and indeed not the major factor in the economic survival of the peasant family, and played no major role in the formation of the household structure.

These observations concerning the household structure of the Macedonian peasantry can only be made because the censor registered the entire population of the hearth. This is a characteristic trait, with some exceptions, of the *praktika* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. On the contrary, in some eleventh- and twelfth-century *praktika*, and in the fifteenth century, only the heads of household were listed. Thus, in the *praktikon* of Andronikos Vatatzes for Lavra in 1181, we have lists of *paroikoi*, but they con-

variance in the values of the dependent variable is explained by the variance in the values of the independent variable, if the two variables are linearly correlated. The strength of association is measured by r^2 , which ranges from 0 to 1. The correlation coefficient, r , ranges from -1 to $+1$. When the coefficient is near -1 or $+1$, the variables are strongly correlated. In our case, a coefficient of 0.3 would show an interesting association. Variable 007 (household structure) has here been recoded as follows: the value 1, which connotes nuclear families, has been given the value 0, and values 2, 3, and 4, which connote various kinds of extended households, have been given the value 1. Thus, a dummy variable has been created (with values 0, 1) which was then used as the independent variable. The dependent variable is the mean of the household tax by the number of couples (or truncated couples) per household.

sist only of the names of the heads of families. The same is true of the *praktikon* of P. Gazes and Georgios Prinkeps for Lavra, drawn up in 1409, and of the fifteenth-century list of *paroikoi* of Chaus Mehmet in Gomatou.¹⁹ The more detailed description of the peasant household in the *praktika* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is probably due to the fact that this was the period of massive donations of land and *paroikoi* to the monasteries and to laymen; with entire villages being given over to the landlords, it was in the interest of both the state and the new owner to know exactly which people and how many belonged to whom.

Both men and women could be heads of household in the period under discussion. The great majority of households, however, was headed by men, while unmarried women who were heads of household formed a minute proportion of the population. Table III-4 shows that the proportion of male heads of household remained almost unchanged over time, as did the proportion of heads of household who were widows. Widows headed between 17 percent and 22 percent of all households in the period from 1300-1301 to 1341. The fact that there is so little variation over time suggests that whatever effect the Catalan invasion, the civil war of the 1320's, and the general instability may have had on the demography of rural Macedonia, they had almost no effect on the overall sex-composition of heads of household. Of course, we have not taken into account the rate of remarriage of widows, since this is observable in only a few cases. Furthermore, since the rate of remarriage of widowers is even less visible, no accurate statistical comparisons may be established.

The relatively large proportion of widows who func-

¹⁹ P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, D. Papachryssanthou, *Actes de Lavra, Première partie, des origines à 1204* (Paris, 1970), no. 65; Lavra, Collège de France, no. 215; N. Todorov and B. Nedkov, eds., *Turski izvori za B'lgarskata istorija, Izvori za B'lgarskata istorija*, ser. xv-xvi, no. II (Sofia, 1966), 451. Some fourteenth-century *praktika* also list only the heads of household: J. Bompaire, *Actes de Xéropotamou* (Paris, 1964), no. 18B; L. Petit, *Actes de Xénophon*, I. *Vizantiiskij Vremennik*, 10 (1903), appendix I, no. 6.

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TABLE III-4

Heads of Household, Differentiated by Sex,
Theme of Thessaloniki, Main Sample

<i>Apographe</i>	Men	Widows	Single Women	Brothers	Number
1300 - 1301	78%	21%	0.2%	0.2%	406
1320 - 1321	80%	17%	2%	0	957
1338 - 1341	77%	22%	0.6%	0	180

tioned as heads of household indicates that in this period women had property rights which were recognized by the fisc. According to Byzantine law, widows had to make an inventory of their dowry, their husband's marriage gift, and his property within three months of the death of their husband. They then could keep their dowry and marriage portion, and share in the property of the man, along with the children of the marriage. Specifically for *paroikoi*, a Novel of the Patriarch Athanasios I (1289-1293, 1303-1309) states that widowers or widows who had no children could keep one third of the property, while a third went for memorial masses, and the last third went to the state or to the landlord. A woman could inherit the entire property of her husband only if the husband had no children, no surviving brothers, and no surviving parents.²⁰

Our records do not permit us to follow the workings of these laws in detail. For example, the great majority of landed property (vineyards, in particular) is not differentiated in terms of its origin, and so we cannot say exactly what happened to dowries or marriage portions, although occasionally we are told that a specific vineyard or garden was the woman's dowry.²¹ We can, however, form an idea of the rights and obligations which fell on widows. For one thing, it is interesting that households headed by widows seem to have been taxed in the same manner and with the

²⁰ Harmenopoulos, *Hexabiblos*, v, chapter VIII, pp. 638, 662, 664; I, chapter XIII, p. 168; IV, chapter VI, p. 494.

²¹ See, for example, Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 11, 13; Lavra, Gomatou, 1321, 2; Lavra, Selas, 1321, 118.

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same norms as households headed by men. This was not the case in the fifteenth century under Ottoman administration, when women heads of household were taxed at a lower scale than men.²² Furthermore, it will be seen from table III-5 that widows often assumed responsibility for the household and its taxes, although there could be at least one adult male residing in the household. This is indicated by the fact that in 1300-1301 77 percent of widows with married children headed households which consisted of extended families. The proportion varied only slightly over time, being 69 percent in 1321 and 74 percent in 1341. Thus, the presence of an adult male in the household did not automatically make him the person responsible for the household, at least for fiscal purposes. By way of example, we have Zoranna Kanaro, the widow of Demetrios Lagoos, who lived in Selas in 1321; with her lived her son Nikolaos with his wife Kale. Similar is the case of Anna, widow of Konstantinos Kouroupes, head of household, who lived in Gomatou with her adult son Nikolaos and her daughter Theodora, married to Xenos. In this particular household there were two adult males, and there was also some property, consisting of a *zeugarion*, five cows, and a vineyard of 1 *modios*.²³

The law which stated that the deceased husband's brother had precedence in the inheritance of property, if the widow had no children, does not seem to have operated in all cases. Thus, widow Kale Dikrano lived with her brother-in-law Konstantinos and his daughter Drosiane. Their property consisted of 4 *modioi* of garden and 0.5 *modioi* of vineyard, and Kale functioned as head of the household, and therefore as formal property owner.²⁴ By law, the property of the household should have devolved upon her brother-

²² See the list of *paroikoi* of Chaus Mehmet, *Turski izvori*, 451, and A. Vakalopoulos, *Ίστορία του Νέου Έλληνισμού*, vol. II, 1 (Thessaloniki, 1964), 26.

²³ Lavra, Gomatou, 1321, 22; Lavra, Selas, 1321, 37; cf. Lavra, Gomatou, 1321, 71, 74.

²⁴ Harmenopoulos, *Hexabiblos*, p. 638; Iveron, Gomatou, 1320, 5.

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in-law. Nor does the Novel of Athanasios I appear to have functioned in all cases. In at least two cases, in Gomatou, we find widows who either had no children or had lost their children, who seem to have inherited the entire property of the household, not merely one third of it, as the Novel ordered.²⁵

Table III-5 confirms the conclusions which we have already drawn concerning the structure of households in general (tables III-1, III-2). By far the largest proportion of households headed by widows consists of nuclear families. If, however, we divide the population of widows into age categories, we find that the great majority of older widows headed extended families, while the vast majority of younger widows lived in nuclear families. The close connection between the age of the head of household and the structure of the household is shown by the very high correlation coefficient (Cramer's $V = 0.8$).

The population we are studying seems to include a large number of widows, if we assume that the figures given in table III-4 are close to the real proportion of widows in the population as a whole, and not merely in the heads of households. This phenomenon, unfortunately, cannot be studied in detail, since we cannot form even a gross estimate of widowers. A simple scanning of the sources shows widowers to be considerably fewer than widows, but this may be merely the effect of the practice of the censor, who noted specifically that a woman was a widow, but did not qualify men as widowers. In the case of men, we can only distinguish a few widowers: those who have children but no visible wife, for instance. We cannot identify as widower a man who has remarried or who has no visible children, unless he belongs to a time-series household. In these circumstances, it would be idle to speculate on the real proportion of widows to widowers or on rates of remarriage. We can say with certainty that both men and women did re-

²⁵ Iveron, Gomatou, 1321, 9, 1341, 28.

TABLE III-5

Breakdown of Type of Household by Age of Head, Widows,
Theme of Thessaloniki, Main Sample

1300 - 1301

n = 89

Type of Household Cramer's V = 0.821	Age II			Total %	Row %	Age III		
	Row %	Column %	Total %			Row %	Column %	Total %
I	87%	89%	54%	13%	20%	8%		
II	0	0	0	100%	77%	30%		
III	80%	7%	5%	20%	3%	1%		
IV	100%	4%	2%	0	0	0		

1320 - 1321

n = 157

Type of Household Cramer's V = 0.782	Age II			Total %	Row %	Age III		
	Row %	Column %	Total %			Row %	Column %	Total %
I	80%	91%	46%	20%	23%	12%		
II	0	0	0	100%	69%	34%		
III	100%	8%	4%	0	0	0		
IV	14%	1%	0.6%	86%	8%	4%		

1338 - 1341

n = 38

Type of Household Cramer's V = 0.767	Age II			Total %	Row %	Age III		
	Row %	Column %	Total %			Row %	Column %	Total %
I	78%	95%	47%	22%	26%	13%		
II	0	0	0	100%	74%	37%		
III								
IV	100%	5%	3%	0	0	0		

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marry, and when widows remarried their second husbands assumed the role of head of household.²⁶

Whereas the widow had some rights, both in terms of ownership of property and in terms of social status as head of household, the single woman is much more rarely seen in the role of head of household. Table III-4 shows that in only very few instances does an unmarried woman function as head of household. Interestingly enough, however, among these cases we find women who head a household that includes adult males. Thus, Siligno, an unmarried woman, is listed as head of a household which includes her brother. While it is possible that this brother was not an adult, we have another case where it is certain that there was an adult co-resident male. Kale, daughter of Xanto, from the village Ierissos, lived with her married sister and her brother-in-law and two nephews, and functioned as head of the household, which possessed a fair amount of property.²⁷ The very small number of single women heads of household suggests that we are observing the following phenomenon: a woman is orphaned, inherits the *stasis*, holds it for a short time and is married very soon, under both social and economic pressure. Her husband then appears as head of the household. There are, of course, no cases where a married woman whose husband is alive appears as head of household. The unmarried woman could not, in the society we are examining, hold a place of authority for long. Thus, the phenomenon of a single woman functioning as head of household is a purely transitory one, occurring between the time she is orphaned and the time she is married. Given the high sex ratio, if the woman had inherited a household with property, she would have found it easy to marry.²⁸

²⁶ See, for example, Iveron, Gomatou, 1341, 6; Iveron, Kato Volvos, 1341, 6.

²⁷ Lavra, Gomatou, 1321, 102; Iveron, Ierissos, 1320, 24. Cf. Lavra, Selas, 1321, 66, 74, 83, 108 and Lavra, Metalin, 1300, 23, 1321, 19.

²⁸ On the sex ratios, see *infra*, chapter VII.

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The final category of heads of household consists of brothers who are listed jointly. Thus, for example, in the village Metalin, in 1300 a *stasis* was headed by "the children of Vasileios Arklas Pardos, Demetrios and Theodoros."²⁹ This particular household disappeared before 1321; in cases where the household continues, however, only one brother appears as head of household in the next *apographe*. Presumably, what happened was that the brothers inherited the paternal *stasis* together because none of them was of an age where he could assume full fiscal responsibility. As soon as the eldest brother became of age, he became the recognized head of the household. This interpretation is only an assumption, and the data are insufficient for firm conclusions.

The members of the household were connected to each other—and to other households—by links of consanguinity or through marriage. In the vast majority of cases, marriage was virilocal or patrivirilocal. The wife went to live with her husband, either in a separate household or in his parents' household. In the first case, the wife is identified in the *praktikon* simply as "Maria," being the first entry after the husband's name: "Demetrios has Maria. . . ." In the second case, she is most frequently identified as the daughter-in-law of the head of household, as in the following example: "widow Maria Preantoulia, has son Georgios, daughter-in-law by him Theodora."³⁰ It is interesting that the relationship here is traced primarily through the parent-in-law, and only secondarily through the husband. Thus, Theodora is linked to widow Maria, through her marriage to Georgios. No doubt this way of stating the relationship reflects the practice and the interest of the census taker, who was registering the householder and the persons associated with him or her; he was interested in other members of the household only because of their relationship to the householder. It probably, however, also reflects the peasants' own habit of

²⁹ Lavra, Metalin, 1300, 18.

³⁰ Iveron, Ierissos, 1301, 28.

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stating marriage relationships by reference to the father- or mother-in-law. Thus, when the father-in-law and the son-in-law head two different households, the second is identified as "X's son-in-law," or more generally "in-law."

Although in general the wife went to live with her husband or his family, sometimes it was the man who joined the household of his wife. This never happened in the case of a nuclear family, that is, never did a married woman appear as head of household with her husband being identified as a member of the household. It was fairly frequent, however, for the man to move into his wife's parental household. He was then identified through his relationship to the head of household and to his wife. For example, "Ioannes Poutles has son Theodoros, daughters Eudokia and Theodora, son-in-law through Eudokia, Mavros," and "widow Chryse, daughter of Konstantinos Tzykalas, has sons Demetrios and Gregorios, daughter Maria, son-in-law through her, Theodoros."³¹ In these two examples, residence after marriage was patriuxorilocal in the first case, and matriuxorilocal in the second. Occasionally we find households where the residence pattern for the younger couples was both patrivirilocal and patriuxorilocal. Thus, Theodoros Tzykalas lived with his son Demetrios and Demetrios' wife Eirene, with two daughters, Zoë and Xene and with Zoë's husband Michael.³²

The cases of patriuxorilocal marriage do not form a consistent distinguishable pattern. It is not possible to say, for example, that they occurred only in cases where the woman was an only child and therefore the putative heiress of the *stasis*. The only pattern which may exist—but is hard to prove—is one in which the man was poorer than the woman, or did not come from an established village family. This is suggested by the fact that in many of these cases the man had no identifying name of his own, other than his baptismal name and occasionally an indication of a pro-

³¹ Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 20, 41. ³² Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 2.

fession or craft that he exercised. He was identified primarily through his relationship with his wife's family. It could be argued that the fact that many of the men who join their wife's household are identified by baptismal name only, reflects the interest of the censor, who was satisfied with identifying the head of household, and then indicating other people's relationship to him. While this is certainly true, it is also true that the censor did use a second name for some co-resident sons-in-law.³³ This would suggest that, in the many cases where second names were not present, they did not exist. The offspring of such unions occasionally also bore the name of the wife's family, an additional indication that the man had been assimilated into the woman's household. Thus, for example, Michael, the husband of Zoë, daughter of Theodoros Tzykalas, joined the household of his father-in-law in 1301. He was not identified by any other name, and after his death his widow kept her paternal name, being identified as "widow Zoë Tzykalo." Her daughter Anna was still identified by the name of her maternal grandfather, although she herself had married. Michael, Zoë's husband, had probably been a poor man or a recent immigrant, who had been absorbed into Tzykalas' household.³⁴

The custom of patriuxorilocal residence, which sometimes resulted in the adoption of the wife's family name by the offspring, is similar to the modern Greek custom of *sogambroi* ("σώγαμβροι") by which, precisely, the man is incorporated into the wife's household and family, adopting their name and passing it on to his children. These cases occur mostly when there is no son and the daughter in-

³³ Lavra, Selas, 1321, 105.

³⁴ Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 2; 1320, 2; 1341, 46. For general background information on this topic, see Goody, *Comparative Studies*, 49-51 and chapter iv, "The Classification of Double Descent Systems," and Schneider and Gough, *Matrilineal Kinship*, 1-29. On the connection between female inheritance of property and the adoption of the wife's name by the husband, see also G. C. Homans, *English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century* (New York, 1960), 187.

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herits all or some of the paternal property. It is a form of adoption through marriage. In the fourteenth century, a man might reside in his father-in-law's household even though the father-in-law had sons. For example, Georgios Tzykalas Roupetzis had a son named Vasileios, who was married and living in his own household in 1300. Georgios also had a daughter named Zoë, married to a man named Draganos, who lived with his wife's parents. In 1321, Draganos (or Drazes) headed the household, but was still identified by reference to his wife's parents, being registered as "Drazes, Roupetzia's son-in-law."³⁵ Similarly, we find widow Tobritza, the wife of Michael Tzepeas, living in a household which included her adult son, Demetrios, her daughter Chryse, Chryse's husband Ioannes (not identified further), and their son Demetrios.³⁶

The Byzantine village of the Paleologan period has been seen to function as a unit in certain important ways, that is, in the economic relations between peasants and landlords, and in juridical matters. From the point of view of the peasants, this unity was visible in other ways as well. In the large villages which can be studied, that is, the ones which belonged either entirely or in large part to one proprietor, a great number of households were related by blood or affinity. It is probable that this observation applies to all Byzantine villages, but our records are more reliable in the villages where a large number of families can be observed. Table III-6 shows the number of households which were related to at least one other household. Since many households were related not only to one but to several other households, table III-6 also provides some information concerning the number of other units each household is related to. Table III-7 gives similar information for a more limited sample, including villages which appear in more than one census, and thus have a time-series. In theory, relationships should

³⁵ Lavra, Selas, 1300, 49, 50; 1321, 146; cf. Lavra, Selas, 1300, 33, 77.

³⁶ Lavra, Selas, 1321, 35.

TABLE III-6

Related Households, Theme of Thessaloniki, Main Sample

Apographe	No Relationship	Brothers or		Parents or		Sons or		In-laws	Other
		Brothers-in-law	Brothers-in-law	Parents-in-law	Parents-in-law	Sons-in-law	Sons-in-law		
1300 - 1301	223 (55%)	87 (21%)	15 (4%)	18 (4%)	25 (6%)	39 (10%)			
1320 - 1321	561 (59%)	164 (17%)	40 (4%)	46 (5%)	27 (3%)	120 (13%)			
1338 - 1341	118 (66%)	13 (7%)	10 (6%)	9 (5%)	0	30 (17%)			

Households Related to Number of Other Households											
	None	Two		Three		Four		Five		Six	
		One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight		
1300 - 1301	223 (55%)	148 (36%)	22 (5%)	13 (3%)	1 (0.2%)	0	0	0	0	0	0
1320 - 1321	561 (59%)	295 (31%)	47 (5%)	30 (3%)	21 (2%)	2 (0.2%)	2 (0.2%)	2 (0.2%)	2 (0.2%)	2 (0.2%)	2 (0.2%)
1338 - 1341	118 (66%)	13 (7%)	10 (6%)	9 (5%)	0	38 (17%)	0	0	0	0	0

TABLE III-7

Related Households, Theme of Thessaloniki, a Time-Series Villages

Apographe	No Relationship	Brothers or		Parents or		Sons or		In-laws	Other
		Brothers-in-law	Brothers-in-law	Parents-in-law	Parents-in-law	Sons-in-law	Sons-in-law		
1300 - 1301	150 (56%)	54 (20%)	11 (4%)	13 (5%)	16 (6%)	21 (8%)			
1320 - 1321	179 (56%)	39 (12%)	17 (5%)	20 (6%)	3 (1%)	61 (19%)			
1338 - 1341	110 (62%)	13 (7%)	10 (6%)	9 (5%)	0	34 (19%)			

^aVillages: Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 1321; Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 1320, 1341; Iveron, Kato Volvos, Melintziani, Ierissos, 1301, 1320, 1341; Xenophon, Stomion, 1300, 1320, 1338; Xenophon, Psalidofourna, Neakitou, 1318-1320, 1338; Xeropotamou, Ierissos, after 1300, 1315-1320; Xenophon, Ierissos, 1320, 1338; Zographou, Ierissos, 1300, 1320; Lavra, Ierissos, 1300.

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be more visible in the time-series villages, since the researcher is not limited to the information given by the censor, but can discover some unstated relationships. The relative stability of the statistics of the two tables attests to the care with which the censors registered close relationships.

The statistics given in tables III-6 and III-7 are not and cannot be entirely accurate, because of technical problems which bias the information in two opposite directions. The censors stopped stating relationships after a certain degree, so that even first cousins are sometimes not registered as relatives. Also it is quite clear that some households are related, although the census does not state the fact. For example, there are cases where several distinct households share the same "family" name, but where the censor has not registered a relationship. It can be seen from other information that some of these households are related. Sometimes it is clear from the previous *apographe* that the households are related, because they are descendants of the same family. If in the list of properties of the two households it is stated that each has a share of a paternal property, then the probability is that the households are related. If the two households are listed side by side in the *praktikon*, we have a weaker indication of family relationship. I have also counted as related some families which share a rare "family" name such as, for example, Klostogenes. Names like "Chalkeus" are too common to be useful as indices of relationship.³⁷ Although some unstated relationships can be thus established, there must be many more which cannot.

It is clear, then, that the real number of related households exceeds the number of relationships which have been

³⁷ For example, households 52 and 53 of Lavra, Gomatou, 1321, share the name Klostogenes, and are also found side by side. Kyriakos Stanilas, in Lavra, Selas, 1321, 50, not only shares the name with four other heads of household (46-49), but owns two thirds *modioi* of vineyard "from his paternal share," as do the four others. Therefore, he is clearly related to all of them.

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registered by the *apographeus*. On the other hand, it is possible that I have interpreted as related some households which in fact are unrelated. But the underreporting far exceeds the overestimation, and in fact the figures in tables III-6 and III-7 represent an understatement. It must also be noted that I have only counted the primary relationships. For example, if a head of household is the son of X and has three brothers who are also heads of household, he has been noted as related to his father, but not to his brothers. Even with such underestimation, the picture which emerges from tables III-6 and III-7 is impressive.

A large number of households (44 percent) are seen as related, in the time-series villages, in the censuses of 1300-1301 and 1320-1321, and about 7 percent are related to more than one household. The number of unrelated households rises significantly in the census of 1338-1341 (62 percent), although the true proportion of related households is simpler to estimate in this *apographe*, since we can more easily trace relationships left unreported by the censor. One would expect that, because of this technical factor, the proportion of related households would be higher in 1338-1341 than in any of the previous *apographai*. The surprising figures we obtain for 1338-1341 are due to the fact that many of the "old" households of the villages have disappeared, and a large percentage of the households is made up of newcomers, who are not usually related to each other. This phenomenon can be seen clearly if, instead of the global picture, one looks at a few selected separate villages (table III-8).

The highest proportion of related households is to be found in the village Melintziani, where 66 percent of the households in 1301, 67 percent in 1320 and 54 percent in 1341 have some kind of relationship to each other. By contrast, Ierissos has relatively few families with visible connection to each other: 25 percent in 1300-1301, 32 percent in 1320, 47 percent in 1341. At the same time, Melintziani has a relatively large number of families which appear in

TABLE III-8
Related Households in Several Villages

Apographe	No Relationship	Brothers or Brothers-in-law	Parents or Parents-in-law	Sons or Sons-in-law	In-laws	Other
1300	38 (41%)	17 (19%)	a. <i>Setas (Lavra)</i> 4 (4%)	6 (7%)	6 (7%)	21 (23%)
1321	68 (42%)	62 (39%)	7 (4%)	7 (4%)	0	17 (11%)
1301	10 (34%)	12 (41%)	b. <i>Melintziani (Iveron)</i> 2 (7%)	3 (10%)	0	2 (7%)
1320	13 (33%)	6 (15%)	3 (8%)	5 (13%)	0	12 (31%)
1341	16 (46%)	2 (6%)	4 (11%)	3 (9%)	0	10 (29%)
1300 - 1301	71 (55%)	30 (23%)	c. <i>Gomatou (Iveron, Lavra)</i> 9 (7%)	10 (8%)	5 (4%)	5 (4%)
1320 - 1321	82 (55%)	23 (15%)	8 (5%)	8 (5%)	1 (0.6%)	27 (18%)
1341	23 (72%)	2 (6%)	0	0	0	7 (22%)
1301	15 (44%)	8 (24%)	d. <i>Kato Volvos (Iveron)</i> 0	0	9 (26%)	2 (6%)
1320	13 (62%)	4 (19%)	0	0	0	4 (19%)
1341	11 (46%)	2 (8%)	2 (8%)	2 (8%)	0	7 (29%)
1300	4 (67%)	0	e. <i>Stomion (Xenophon)</i> 0	0	0	2 (33%)
1320	7 (41%)	2 (12%)	2 (12%)	3 (18%)	0	3 (18%)
1338	17 (89%)	0	0	0	0	2 (11%)
1318 - 1320	14 (88%)	2 (13%)	f. <i>Psaidofourna, Neakitou (Xenophon)</i> 0	0	0	0
1338	24 (80%)	2 (7%)	0	0	0	4 (13%)
1300 - 1301	50 (75%)	4 (6%)	g. <i>Ierissos (Zographou, Lavra, Xenophon, Xeropotamou, Iveron)</i> 1 (1.5%)	0	2 (3%)	10 (15%)
1320	50 (68%)	1 (1%)	4 (5%)	4 (5%)	2 (3%)	13 (18%)
1338 - 1341	19 (53%)	5 (14%)	4 (11%)	4 (11%)	0	4 (11%)

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all three *apographai*, and thus have lived in the village from 1301 to 1341.³⁸ Of its households in 1301, 48 percent continued down to 1341; 56 percent of the households of 1320 can be traced back to 1301 and forward to 1341, while 53 percent of the households of 1341 can be traced back to the first census. It is not possible to draw up exactly comparable figures for Ierissos, since we have data for all three censuses from only one monastery, that of Iveron. For the domains of Lavra, Xeropotamou, Xenophon, and Zographou in this village we possess data from only one or two *apographai*. Only 25 percent of the households of Iveron in 1301 continued down to 1341; 38 percent of the households of 1320 continued to 1341, while of the households of 1341 50 percent can be traced back to the first *apographe*. Of the six families belonging to Xenophon in 1321, only one can be traced forward to 1338. It is clear that the continuity over time of a family in a village affects our figures for related households in two ways, a technical one and a real one. It is much easier to discover unstated relationships if we can study a family over time. On the other hand, a village with a very mobile population will also have a small proportion of its households related to other households in the village.

It thus seems evident that by the middle of the fourteenth century social and demographic factors had worked in such a way that the solid core of the village consisted of a number of households which had relative stability over time and which were related to each other by consanguinity or affinity. The time-series households, that is, the ones which continued over time, were also the ones most tightly connected by family ties. The rest of the population consisted of households which were not visibly related to each other. Some of them no doubt were newcomers who had not yet formed family relationships with the rest of the village. The *eleutheroi*, that poor, mobile segment of the peasantry,

³⁸ Cf. *infra*, chapter vi.

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provide a striking illustration to this statement. Eighty-two percent of their households in 1300–1301 and 77 percent in 1320–1321 were unrelated to other village households.

The peasant's own definition and recognition of kinship and family relations was probably different to some degree from that of the censor, and this is one reason why our data afford limited information about patterns of kinship. The censor's interest seems to have been limited to the following relationships: vertically, to the parent-offspring or offspring's spouse relationship, and horizontally to the tie between brothers or brothers-in-law (and sisters or sisters-in-law). Thus, there are many cases where we know that certain heads of household are first cousins, since they are the offspring of two or more brothers, but the *apographeus* has not stated the relationship.³⁹ Only very rarely are cousins or uncles and nephews specifically mentioned as such when they are heads of household. On the contrary, within the household we find several mentions of cousins, uncles, nephews and nieces and their spouses, and wife's cousins. Since the *apographeus* had to register every member of the household, he must have followed local practice in stating the relationships. Where he was registering heads of household, however, he seems to have merely indicated close relatives, perhaps those who might have rights of inheritance over the *stasis*. It is known that according to the Byzantine laws of succession, the first right of inheritance goes to descending relatives, that is, children or grandchildren. If there are no descendants, the property devolves to one's brothers (sisters) and to ascending relatives on both the mother's and the father's side (parents, grandparents), and then to one's uncles and cousins. Although the law recognizes rights of succession to relatives through the eighth degree of relationship, it is also stated that if a

³⁹ For example, in Radolivous, in 1341, Konstantinos Varades and Theodoros Varades are first cousins, being the children of Vasileios and Nikolaos Varades: Dölger, "Sechs Praktika," RK, ll. 110–111, RV, ll. 125–126, 135–136.

paroikos dies childless, and so does the spouse, then the property reverts to the landlord.⁴⁰ Finally, there is the right of preemption which, in the tenth century, recognized to relatives holding land co-jointly the first right of purchase of land. While these laws had ceased to operate, and did not in any case apply to *paroikoi*, it is possible that the bureaucracy had retained the habit of tracing important relationships.

The fourteenth-century censor traced relationships primarily through descent, and, where two generations were involved, by reference to the older generation. Thus, he always mentioned first the households headed by a father or mother, and then the households headed by his or her children. I suggest that this is because one's children were one's heirs in the first instance. The general rule that the householders of the older generation are mentioned before their related householders of a younger generation is broken only twice, as far as I know. In Selas, in 1300, Nikolaos the son of the priest Petros is mentioned before his uncle, the priest Vasileios, and Vasileios Tzangares is mentioned before his uncle, Theodoros Melenikeiotes.⁴¹ In these cases, the rights of inheritance involved were rather remote. It is also interesting that relationships are traced both through men and through women, and this too may be connected with the law of inheritance which states that it is the degree of relationship that counts, and not the sex of the person with rights of inheritance.

Affinal relationships are not always traced very carefully by the censor. Sometimes the relationship is clearly stated: "X, the brother-in-law of Y" ("ἐπ' ἀδελφῆ γαμβρός" or "ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ γαμβρός"), "X, the son-in-law of Y," or even "X, Y's in-law through his niece" ("ἐπ' ἀνηψιᾷ γαμβρός").⁴² Female

⁴⁰ Harmenopoulos, *Hexabiblos*, pp. 626-632, 662.

⁴¹ Lavra, Selas, 1300, 11, 12, 63, 64. Much more usual is the case of Petros Kanitzas, who is mentioned just before his nephew, Georgios: Lavra, Selas, 1300, 13, 14.

⁴² Dölger, "Sechs Praktika," RK, Voriskos, 1316, 1.

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affines are also described in similar ways, with the term "νύφη." But it frequently happens that the relationship is stated in more general terms, X being designated merely as the "in-law" of Y, in which case it is not always possible for the researcher to discover whether he is dealing with a son-in-law or a brother-in-law. In a few cases, we find a "mother-in-law" ("πεθερά") residing in her son-in-law's or daughter-in-law's household, and quite frequently we find mention of other relatives through marriage: one's "wife's brothers" ("γυναικάδελφοί") or "husband's brothers" ("ἀνδράδελφοί") might live in the household, or even an occasional "wife's cousin" ("γυναικοξαδέλφη"). The term "co-in-law" ("σύγγαμβρος") is used, as in modern Greek, to describe the relationship of two brothers married to two sisters, and σύγγαμβροι can be found both as heads of different households and living in the same household. The term "συγγάμβρισα" is used to describe the relationship between a man and the wife of his wife's brother.

Within the household, relationships are traced in ways similar to those used to describe the connection between heads of household, but often more distant relations are mentioned. The most commonly found links are, of course, the parent-child and the sibling ties, as should be expected from the kind of household structure which existed in this society. In the vertically extended family one finds the grandparent-child-grandchild relationship. We also find a widowed mother or mother-in-law living in the household. In such cases, the older woman is mentioned *after* the members of the nuclear family. In one case, in Mamitzon, the householder's grandmother lives in the same household.⁴³ In the laterally extended and the mixed household, we may find other relatives as well: unmarried or widowed siblings, various in-laws, aunts and uncles, nephews and nieces, and

⁴³ For various examples, see Dölger, "Sechs Praktika," RK, Voriskos, 1316, 10, 1; RV, Radolivous, 1341, 10; RK, 1316, 23, 43; Petit, *Chilandar*, no. 91. For an example of a stepmother, see Dölger, "Sechs Praktika," RK, Ovelos, 1316, 34.

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sometimes their spouses and children. Adult lateral relatives (aunts, uncles) and adult in-laws who live in someone's household are quite often widowers or widows; they may have had their own household, but left it after their spouse's death. A large number of cousins and nephews or nieces seem to be unmarried; presumably they are orphans who have joined their relatives' household until they can form their own. Sometimes a boy may live with his aunt—who is the head of household—until he comes of age, and then he assumes responsibility for the *stasis*.⁴⁴

Although the nuclear family, then, was the predominant form of household organization in Byzantine Macedonia, it was also common for various relatives to live under one roof. Furthermore, a large number of village families were related by blood or marriage. Kinship may have had functions which we cannot now discover; we do know that it played a role in the inheritance of property and in the care of the old and those in need of protection. Widowed men or women could find shelter with their sons, sons-in-law or nephews. Young children whose parents had died could live with their older siblings or with more distant kin. Unmarried men and women could go on living with their married relatives, usually their brothers or sisters.⁴⁵ Thus the family provided a measure of protection against the harshness of the life of the peasant.

⁴⁴ Iveron, Ierissos, 1320, 24.

⁴⁵ The presence of lateral relatives, especially young ones, on the household, must be seen as the result of the family and social arrangements of the peasants themselves, with only a minimal influence on the part of the landlord. Thus, the monastery can have had no particular interest in Ioannes Kapasas' *syngambrissa* (Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 7) who lived with him, beyond the general interest of knowing that she was a *paroikos* of the monastery.

CHAPTER IV

Names

THE study of names can tell us a great deal about a society, for names are primarily a means of social identification. People identify themselves or are identified by others in ways which may reveal kinship patterns, migration movements, economic differentiation or social stratification, superstitious beliefs. Children may habitually be named after the paternal or maternal grandparents, after parents or siblings. Names may show adherence to a religion or to superstition: the Byzantine parents who named their children Aporicto or Evreto ("rejected" and "foundling") were trying to deceive death, while a man named Prousenos testified to his parents' nostalgia for a lost homeland in Asia Minor.¹ Proper or family names which continue over more than one generation can show the interest of the family itself or of the state in identifying people over time.

The Byzantine peasants of the fourteenth century were commonly identified by a baptismal or given name and some other form of identification: a profession, an indication of geographical origin, a nickname, or an indication of relationship to someone else. Both the given names and the "family" names are of interest here.

Baptismal names, as might be expected, derive mostly from the Christian calendar, being names of saints or refer-

¹ J. Longnon and P. Topping, *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1969), appendix 1 (by Eva Topping), 222; L. Petit, *Actes de Chilandar, I. Actes grecs, Vizantiiskij Vremennik*, 17 (1911), appendix 1, no. 38 (1318), Evnouchou, 19. Part of this chapter has been published in the form of an article: "Peasant Names in Fourteenth-Century Macedonia," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 1 (1975), 71-95.

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ring to feasts, to God, the Virgin, or Christ. Some names are very common. Men are often named Nikolaos, Demetrios, Konstantinos, Ioannes, Vasileios, Michael, Manouel, Stamatēs, Theodoros. Somewhat less frequent are the names Modestos, Nikephoros, Theiotokios, Kyriakos, Foteinos, Athanasios, Petros, Alexios, Stefanos, Xenos. Most of these, with the exception of Xenos, Alexios, Modestos and Foteinos, are also common modern Greek names. On the other hand, Evangelos and Eleutherios, which occur frequently in modern Greece, are rare in the fourteenth century. Women were most often called Maria and Anna (as in modern Greece), Zoë, Arete, Chryse, Argyre, Kale, Theodora, Eirene, Xene, Eudokia, Elene, Georgia, and less frequently Vasilike, Ioannousa, Kyriakia, Rossana or Rossa, Siligno, Sophia, Foteine, Theophano, Stamatike, and Marina. The name Aikaterine, one of the commonest modern Greek names, is very rarely encountered.

Some Christian names are very similar to those found among the peasants of the Morea in the same period.² They fall into three categories: (1) those referring to God, the Virgin, and Christ; (2) saints' names; and (3) those deriving from feasts of the Christian calendar. In the first category, we find Theodoros, Theodora ("gift of God"), Manouel from Emmanuel (the popular form Manolis does not appear in our documents), Theochares, Theiotokios (from the Theotokos, or "mother of God"), Panagiotes, from the adjective of the Virgin which qualifies her as "most saintly," and Christina.³ Maria, of course, was a very common name.

The saints most often celebrated in peasant names were Theodore, Demetrius, and George (all military saints), Athanasius and Basil (the fourth-century church fathers), Constantine, the first Christian Emperor, and Helena, his mother. St. Peter is frequently represented, and the name of his assistant, Andronicus, appears occasionally. Some

² Longnon and Topping, *Documents*, 222-224.

³ Lavra, Gomatou, 1321, 3; 1300, 74; Lavra, Selas, 1300, 5, 11; 1321, 14, 160.

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saints' names which were used in the Morea appear very rarely or not at all in our documents: such are the names Paul, Andreas, Iakovos, Markos. Nor have the Macedonian peasants used the names of the saints Kosmas, Damianos and Paraskevi (all of them celebrated for curing diseases), as the Moreot peasants did. Stephanos and Nikephoros, on the other hand, are saints' names which were used with some frequency. The names Valsamon and Vlasios appear a few times, and a priest's daughter was named Elisavet.⁴ Anne, after the Virgin's mother, was very common. Despite the fact that the Prophet Elias is a major figure in the Greek church, his name does not appear in our documents; the name is also very rare in the Morea.

The names of the two archangels, Michael and Gavriel, appear with some regularity, Michael being much the more common of the two. The biblical name Tamar occurs occasionally.⁵

The most important feasts of the orthodox church are those connected with Christmas and Easter. It is thus not surprising that the names connected with feasts refer primarily to these two cycles. The names Anastasios and Paschales are derived from the Resurrection and Easter, while Foteinos, Foteine, Theophano, refer to the great feast of the Epiphane, which is celebrated on the sixth of January. The fairly common names Kyriakos and Kyriakia are formed from the Greek word for the Lord's day, "Sunday" ("Κυριακή").⁶

Non-Christian baptismal names are surprisingly frequent in a society whose ideology was avowedly Christian. The origins of such names are diverse. Some are imperial names,

⁴ Lavra, Gomatou, 1321, 3; Iveron, Gomatou, 1320, 18; Lavra, Aghia Euphemia, 1321, 67; Lavra, Panaghia, 1321, 13; Lavra, Gournai, 1321, 26; Iveron, Melintziani, 1320, 22.

⁵ Iveron, Melintziani, 1320, 10; Lavra, Genna, 1321, 12.

⁶ L. Petit, *Actes de Xénophon, Vizantiiskij Vremennik*, 10 (1903), appendix 1, no. 6 (1318), Stomion, 14; Lavra, Skelochorion, 1321, 3; Lavra, Selas, 1300, 33, 13, 45; 1321, 96; Lavra, Karvaioi, 1321, 7; Iveron, Xylorygion, 1301, 2. Cf. Longnon and Topping, *Documents*, 223.

like Alexios. Others refer either to physical characteristics or to moral characteristics, or are ethnic names, or result from a superstition. Stamates, for example, expresses a wish, either for no more children or for death to stop taking any more children.⁷

Among the names referring, in some way, to physical characteristics, we find Mavros and Melachrene, alluding to their bearers' dark traits, and the opposite, Xanthe, the blond one. Chiono probably has a similar meaning, deriving as it does from the word for snow. Cheilousa is a strange name, encountered once, and perhaps having to do with the woman's big lips. Both men and women had names deriving from the word χρυσός, gold: Chrysaphes, Chrysos, Chryse, Chrysoverges. The name Siderina may be in some way connected with the word σίδηρος, iron, or it may be a "family" name, functioning as a baptismal name. Names deriving from flowers were borne by some women: Triakontaphyllia (Rose), Margarito (Daisy). A man bears the name Anthes, which is clearly connected with the word for flower; another is called Triakontaphyllos, and yet another Trifyllios (clover). Two brothers are named Myristikos and Asemopoulos; the roots of these names derive from the verb μυρίζω, to smell, and from the word ἀσήμι, silver.⁸

Other names refer to moral characteristics or, alternatively, to the attitude of those who named the child. Agapetos and Pothetos or Pothete testify to the fact that these persons were "loved" or "desired." Semne bore a constant reminder to be modest.⁹

A whole series of baptismal names consists of toponymics,

⁷ Longnon and Topping, *Documents*, 222.

⁸ Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 47; 1321, 48, 42, 98; Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 20; 1321, 32; Lavra, Selas, 1300, 2, 4, 73; 1321, 3; Lavra, Aghia Euphemia, 1321, 8, 32, 56, 63, 67; Lavra, Karvaioi, 1321, 22; Iveron, Kato Volvos, 1301, 14; 1321, 1.

⁹ Lavra, Neochorion, 1321, 20; Lavra, Loroton, 1321, 28; Lavra, Karvaioi, 1321, 19; Iveron, Melintziani, 1320, 23; Iveron, Gomatou, 1320, 36; Iveron, Ierissos, 1301, 5, 6; Iveron, Kato Volvos, 1341, 7; W. Regel, E. Kurtz, B. Korablev, *Actes de Zographou, Vizantiiskij Vremennik*, 13 (1907), appendix, no. xv (1300), Ierissos, 3.

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something which one would not expect. The names Komnene and Choniatissa, although originally they had been toponymics, had become family names of important families, and so probably do not connote any recent connection of the family with the geographical area to which they refer. On the contrary, the names Nikaia, Laodikenos, Therianos, Theriane, Prousenos, and Amasianos are rather peculiar. Giving a child the name of a city or an island must mean that the family had had recent connections with the area referred to, that is, with Nicaea, Laodikea, Thera, Prousa and Amaseia respectively. Ioannes Tzykalas, from Kato Volvos, had a son named Voulgariotes; possibly, the family had come from Bulgaria. There is also the name Thalassene or Thalassonto, which may suggest some connection with the sea or with sailing.¹⁰

A few children were given baptismal names which are more commonly found as "proper" or family names. Apart from Komnene and Choniatissa, we also have Melissenos, Petraleiphas and Synadenos. All of these are names borne by great Byzantine families.¹¹ The significance of the habit of baptizing children with proper names is not clear.

Some names are obviously of foreign origin, mostly Slavic but also French, Italian and Spanish. Dragos, Draganos, Slanna, Tobranna, Dragna, Zougla, Malha, Merzana, Volkanos, Tobromeros, are all Slavic names. Imbert the Franc ("Μπέρον ὁ Φράγγος") was probably of French origin, while Nikephoros Idalkos, son of Dominick, was the offspring of a Spaniard, perhaps a member of the Catalan Company who had for some reason remained in Macedonia after the invasion of the region by Catalan mercenaries in 1307-1309.¹² The man called Loubertos was a Westerner named

¹⁰ Lavra, Gomatou, 1321, 35; Lavra, Aghia Euphemia, 1321, 29; Lavra, Selas, 1300, 20; Iveron, Kato Volvos, 1341, 8, 18; Iveron, Ierissos, 1317, 25; Petit, *Chilandar*, no. 38, Evnouchou, 1318, 5.

¹¹ Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 64; Iveron, Kato Volvos, 1301, 2; 1341, 9, 16, 19.

¹² Lavra, Selas, 1300, 31, 70, 71; 1321, 22, 43, 64, 78, 139; Lavra, Gomatou, 1321, 104; Lavra, Metalin, 1300, 31, 32; Lavra, Gradista,

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Robert; but it is not clear why Ioannes Tzykalas should have named his son Ermanes (Hermann).¹³

Finally, there are people whose names are ethnic rather than foreign. That is, their names derive from words denoting a non-Greek nationality. For example, there are men and women named Komanos and Komana (Cumans), or Rossos and Rossa or Rossana (Russian), there is a man named "Slavos" (Slav) and another called Alvanites (Albanian).¹⁴

In choosing names for their children, people usually follow patterns which are sanctioned by their society. For instance, in modern Greece, first-born boys are usually given the name of their paternal grandfather, while first-born girls are given the name of either their paternal or their maternal grandmother. Subsequent children can be given the names of their other set of grandparents, and if there are more than four children they may bear names of dead siblings, or of other relatives, or names which the godfather chooses, usually from his own family. While names outside the family may be given, the pattern described above is usually adhered to. In villages which have a patron saint (St. George, St. Demetrius, St. Nicholas are among the most common), a large number of children may be named after the saint. If a child is born on an important feast day (Christmas, Epiphane, Easter) he or she may be given a name in honor of the feast; if a number of children in a family have died young, the next child may be given a name which will protect it: Sterios, stemming from the verb "to become secure" ("σπεριώνω"), or Stamates, or some other such name. A child may be promised to a saint, if the

1321, 17; Lavra, Aghia Euphemia, 1321, 35; Iveron, Kato Volvos, 1301, 4, 20, 31. According to the traditions of Mount Athos, some Catalans were converted to orthodoxy and became monks: R. M. Dawkins, "The Catalan Company in the Traditions of Mount Athos," *Homenatge a A. Rubió y Lluch*, 1 (Barcelona, 1936), 269-270.

¹³ Lavra, Paschali, 1321, 9; Lavra, Selas, 1300, 19.

¹⁴ Lavra, Selas, 1300, 4, 61, 67; 1321, 3; Lavra, Gomatou, 1321, 81; Iveron, Melintziani, 1320, 5; Iveron, Ierissos, 1320, 21.

saint will preserve its life. This custom existed in the Byzantine period as well, and the Emperor Andronikos II named his only legitimate daughter Simonis, after Simon Peter who was seen, through magic, to be her protector.¹⁵

Unfortunately, our records are insufficient to show exactly what was the pattern of choosing names for children in the fourteenth century. The *apographai* are far apart, and they only register surviving children, not those which have been born, baptized and died, nor those which have survived but left the domain. Therefore, if there were certain established ways of choosing names for children, these are visible to us only in a fragmentary manner. In order to see whether even a fragmentary pattern can be recovered, it is best to take households which have a time-series from 1300 to 1341, and thus provide a maximum of information. It is also necessary to be cautious about seeing patterns in the use of universally common names such as Georgios, Nikolaos, Maria or Anna. The less common names are more useful for our purposes here.

An examination of the households which have a time-series from 1300–1301 to 1341 shows that for a great many of them no pattern can be established.¹⁶ Because of the difficulties inherent in the sources, however, it cannot be argued that the absence of a pattern reflects the real situation. In a few cases one can see how the formation of baptismal names was influenced by family relationships. In the domain of Iveron in the village Gomatou, the family headed

¹⁵ Georgii Pachymeres, *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis libri tredecim*, ed. Em. Bekker, II (Bonn, 1835), 276–277.

¹⁶ See, for example, the following groups of households: Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 13, 1317, 12, 1320, 12, 1341, 19; Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 17–18, 1317, 15, 1320, 15, 1341, 12; 1301, 24–25, 1317, 21, 1320, 21, 1341, 18; 1301, 27–28, 1317, 24–25, 1320, 24–25, 1341, 20–22; 1301, 31, 1317, 28, 43, 1320, 28, 42, 1341, 23; 1301, 36, 1317, 33, 1320, 34, 1341, 28; 1301, 40, 1320, 36, 1341, 4; 1301, 49, 1320, 43, 1341, 15; Iveron, Ierissos, 1301, 3, 1320, 1, 1341, 1; 1301, 6, 1320, 4, 1341, 10; 1301, 33, 1320, 24, 26, 1341, 15, 23; Iveron, Melintziani, 1301, 12, 1320, 13, 1341, 5, 8, 13; 1301, 15, 1320, 15, 1341, 11; 1301, 19, 1320, 18, 1341, 32; Petit, *Xénophon*, Stomion, 1300, 2, 1320, 2, 4, 1338, 3; 1300, 3, 1320, 3, 8, 15, 1338, 4, 5.

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in 1301 by Theodoros Tzykalas continued down to 1341. One of Tzykalas' grandsons was also named Theodoros. Other names recur in this family. Theodoros' granddaughter Anna had a daughter (Eirene) who had two children. Eirene's son Demetrios bore the name of his maternal great-uncle, while Eirene's daughter, Arete, had the same name as her maternal aunt. In 1301, Theodoros Tzykalas had a daughter Xene, who does not appear in following *apographai*. Theodoros' daughter Zoë, however, named her second son Xenos, possibly after the child's aunt, who may have died in the meantime.¹⁷ Thus, this family seems to have named some children after both ascending and lateral relatives. The family is notable for another reason as well: Theodoros Tzykalas' daughter Zoë and her daughter Anna both preserved the name Tzykalo even after they had been married and widowed. In these unusual circumstances, it is particularly interesting that some of the children were named after relatives on the female side. A similar situation obtained in the household which in 1301 was headed by Michael Autoufleianos. Michael had three sons and one daughter, Maria. By 1320, the sons have disappeared, and the *stasis* has passed into the hands of Georgios, Maria's husband. Georgios' two known children were named Michael and Anna, after their maternal grandparents. It is likely that Georgios, inheriting the *stasis*, also inherited the obligation to honor his wife's parents by giving their names to his children. He also seems to have preserved his wife's family's name, for his son, Michael, was known as "Autoufleianos," just like the first head of the household.¹⁸

The case of the family of Ioannes Bouhalas is more conventional. Ioannes appears in four *apographai*, that of 1301 and those of 1317, 1320, and 1341. He had two sons, Stephanos and Georgios. Georgios, who had inherited the household by 1341, had four children whose names have survived; the eldest son was named Ioannes, like his pater-

¹⁷ Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 1, 1317, 2, 1320, 2, 1341, 26.

¹⁸ Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 19, 1317, 17, 1320, 17, 1341, 11.

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nal grandfather, and the second daughter was named Eirene, like her maternal grandmother. There are several other instances where the names of one or two of the grandparents have been given to children.¹⁹ In this connection, there is an interesting example of what could happen when a man embarked upon a second marriage. Ioannes, the brother of Pelekanos, who lived in Melintziani in 1301, had a first wife named Anna, and a second wife named Eirene. One of his daughters by his first wife married and named her first girl Anna. By his second wife he had two or three sons. His eldest, Niketas, named his daughter Eirene, after his mother. Thus, the names of both wives of Ioannes were continued through each woman's offspring.²⁰

The names of lateral relatives (brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles) were often given to children, not only after the lateral relative had died but even while he or she was alive. An example is furnished by the household which in 1301 was headed by Vasileios the son of the priest Servos. Vasileios had a son named Demetrios, and two daughters, Eirene and Theodora. By 1320, Demetrios had disappeared from the records, but his sister Theodora had a son, named Demetrios. Eirene's first son was also called Demetrios, and it is plausible to suggest that these two boys were named after their maternal uncle, who had probably died. In 1341, Eirene's last son, Myristikos, had two daughters, Eirene and Theodora, the names of his great-aunts.²¹ In the village Melintziani, Vasileios, son of Zoë Lachano, had a son named Georgios and a living brother of the same name.²²

¹⁹ Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 12, 1317, 11, 1320, 11, 1341, 2. This is the same family as Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 57. For similar cases, see Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 4, 1317, 1, 1320, 1, 1341, 1; 1301, 11, 1317, 10, 1320, 10, 1341, 29; Iveron, Ierissos, 1301, 7, 1320, 5, 1341, 8, 9; 1301, 30, 1320, 17, 21, 1341, 18-20; Iveron, Kato Volvos, 1301, 15, 1320, 7, 1341, 7-8; Iveron, Xylorygion, 1301, 1, 1320, 2, 1341, 1.

²⁰ Iveron, Melintziani, 1301, 26, 1320, 25, 27, 1341, 6.

²¹ Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 32, 1317, 29, 1320, 29, 1341, 30. Cf. Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 37, 1320, 35, 1341, 5; 1301, 38, 1320, 45, 1341, 32; Iveron, Kato Volvos, 1301, 1-2, 1320, 1, 1341, 4, 22.

²² Iveron, Melintziani, 1301, 24, 1320, 23, 24, 1341, 17.

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It is by this process of honoring living or dead relatives that children were given strange baptismal names. Thus, in Sarantarea in 1321, we find names which functioned both as family names and as baptismal names. Georgios, son of Demetrios Sarantenos, had a brother named Sarantenos. He was the youngest brother, and seems to have been named after his father, perhaps because the father had died before the child's birth. Similarly, Stamates Ragazenos had a brother named Ragazenos, again perhaps after their father. The toponymic Therianos, borne by a young man in the village Evnouchou, was his father's proper name. Since Therianos' mother is a widow when we encounter her, it is once again possible that the boy was named after a deceased father.²³

Finally, it is possible to find families and households where the same names appear in several generations, without being able to find a pattern in the repetition. Two examples will suffice. One consists of the series of households which, in 1301, were headed by Ioannes Poutles and his son-in-law, Demetrios Tzangarios Voulerenos. We can trace this family for four generations, and we find that several of its members bore names which were repeated from one generation to the next. The names Georgios, Nikolaos, Anna, Theodora (all of them rather common names, to be sure) and Valsamon (a very uncommon name) are repeated more than once. We clearly have a family tradition continuing over a long period of time. Similarly, the family of Nikolaos and Demetrios Pissianos continued for four generations, during which we encounter repeatedly the names Georgios, Ioannes, Demetrios, Maria, Eirene, Theodora, and Anna.²⁴ Once again we seem to be witnessing a family tradition at work.

Despite the difficulties presented by our data, it has been

²³ Lavra, Sarantarea, 1321, 1, 20; Petit, *Chilandar*, no. 38 (1318), Evnouchou, 5.

²⁴ Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 45, 1320, 38, 1341, 13, 25; Iveron, Ierissos, 1301, 10-11, 1320, 8-9, 1341, 3-5, 28; Iveron, Melintziani, 1301, 21, 1320, 20-21, 1341, 22.

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possible to establish that at least in some cases children were given the baptismal names of relatives, ascending or lateral, living or dead. Like other Byzantines, the Macedonian peasants seem to have set store upon the continuation of their names through their offspring.²⁵

Baptismal or given names are not by themselves an adequate means of identification, since they are shared by many people. Most of our peasants bore a second identifying name, which would frequently be shared by a household or a family, and which might continue over more than one generation. A proper or family name which remains stable over several generations identifies a family over time. In the case of the great families, the establishment of proper names came early; proud Byzantine aristocrats at the end of the Empire could trace their ancestry legitimately back to the tenth century, and somewhat fraudulently back to Rome.²⁶ There are many reasons for this development. For one thing, heritability of property made it necessary to identify a family over the generations. And a family which had served in the army or the bureaucracy, which had approached or reached the throne, had reasons of pride to pass on its name to the next generations, and future generations had every reason to keep the name: the proper name of the Palaeologi, for example, was Doukas Angelos Komnenos Palaiologos. The Byzantine peasants could inherit property, although the kinds of property they could inherit varied over time. The other factors which were involved in the establishment of family names among the aristocracy, however, did not obtain in the peasant class. Even for the purpose of inheriting property, it is entirely possible that a closed peasant society could rely on memory and on stated

²⁵ Ph. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, IV (Athens, 1951), 9–10, 14.

²⁶ A. Laiou, "The Byzantine Aristocracy in the Palaeologan Period: A Story of Arrested Development," *Viator*, 4 (1973), 134–140 and n. 11, with a bibliography of some of the most important modern studies of Byzantine families.

family relationships. It was, I think, an external factor which precipitated a trend toward the development of proper names. This external factor was the imperial bureaucracy. In fact, the influence of the state is visible even in modern Greece, where the stability of family names dates, in the majority of cases, only back to the establishment of a modern state with its fiscal and military exigencies.

In the late Byzantine period, we can see the beginnings of the process through which personal, individual, identification of peasants was being transformed into inter-generational identification. This was a slow process, which may have been interrupted in the course of the Turkish occupation. It was, nonetheless, visible in the fourteenth century, and occurred because of the formalization of social relations of a particular kind in the countryside. The granting of land to lay and ecclesiastical landlords, and the periodic reassessment of the possessions and revenues of the landlords made it necessary to identify peasant households over time and this, in turn, helped solidify the proper names of the peasants.

In discussing the formation and typology of proper names, we are dealing for the most part with the heads of households or families; the other members of the family were only rarely given more than a baptismal name in the documents, since this was unnecessary for the purposes of the *apographe*. The heads of families or households were identified in a number of ways.

1. They may have both a baptismal and a second name. The second name may designate a craft or profession, or may be a toponymic or a nickname or derive from a nickname. Occasionally, a man may have two "second" names. "Theodoros Tzykalas" identifies Theodore the potter by a name deriving from a craft. "Widow Anatolike" identifies a woman through a toponymic. "Theodore sans-culotte" ("Θεόδωρος Ἀβράκωτος") is a nickname. Finally, there is the case of the double identification, for example, "Demetrios

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Tzangarios Voulerenos," that is, Demetrios the shoemaker from Voleron.²⁷

2. Identification may be made on the basis of relationship with others, for example, "Ἰωάννης, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Χαλκέως." In this case also it is possible to have multiple identification, through profession, or toponymic, and relationship. Such is the case of "Ἰωάννης Τζαγκάριος ὁ γαμβρὸς Ἰωάννου τοῦ Τζυκαλᾶ, ἥτοι ὁ Ψυχοπράτης," in which Ioannes is identified as "the shoemaker, in-law of Tzykalas, the soul-seller (or slave-seller)."

3. It is finally possible to have the head of a household identified by nothing but the baptismal name. This category, a rather small one, consists of men with very little or no property, sometimes of *eleutheroi*, and usually appears at the end of the list of households of a particular domain, where one finds the newer families and those with little connection with the rest of the villagers.

Table iv-1 below shows the breakdown of the population of the theme of Thessaloniki in terms of "proper" names. The *eleutheroi* are peasants, usually very poor, who are designated variously as "poor," and "free and unknown to the fisc."²⁸

NAMES DERIVING FROM CRAFTS OR PROFESSIONS

Of the names derived from crafts or professions, the most common are Tzangares and Kalligas (shoe-maker), Chalkeus (smith), Raptēs (tailor), Tzykalas (potter), Yfantēs (weaver), while less common ones are Pelekanos (carpenter), Skiadas (tent or hatmaker), Mylonas (miller), Tzepeas (hoemaker), Vagenas (barrelmaker), Ktistes (mason), Gounaras (furrier), Kepouros (gardener), Makellares (butcher), Krasopolia (wineseller), Neropoles (water-seller), Alieus (fisherman), Flevotomos (one who opens

²⁷ Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 2; Iveron, Kato Volvos, 1301, 30; Iveron, Gomatou, 1320, 41; Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 45.

²⁸ G. Ostrogorskij, *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine* (Brussels, 1954), 330-347.

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TABLE IV-1

Proper Names^a

<i>Apographe</i>	Name from Craft	Toponymic	Nickname	From Relationship	First Name Only
<i>a. Derivation of Proper Names, Main Sample</i>					
1300 - 1301	69 (17%)	73 (18%)	146 (36%)	156 (38%)	8 (2%)
1320 - 1321	159 (17%)	180 (19%)	433 (45%)	339 (35%)	17 (2%)
1338 - 1341	19 (11%)	40 (22%)	90 (50%)	76 (42%)	3 (2%)
<i>b. Derivation of Proper Names, Eleutheroi</i>					
1300 - 1301	8 (27%)	7 (23%)	12 (40%)	0	1 (3%)

^aThe percentages for any given *apographe* add up to more than 100%, because of frequent double identification. The numbers outside parentheses represent absolute figures.

veins, i.e. a doctor), Amaxas (wagonmaker). I have also included in this category the designations *iereus* (priest) and *diakonos* (deacon), although most frequently these really do describe the man's profession rather than being a name.

The question naturally arises whether these designations refer to a man's current craft, or whether, having once served this purpose, they degenerated into names by the fourteenth century. Since both cases seem to have existed at the same time, there is no simple answer to this question, nor is it easy to devise a means by which one might differentiate between the two cases. It might be thought that, if the designations referred to crafts or professions currently exercised by the head of household, the tax base for such households would be different from the rest of the population. This, however, is not so, although individual differences can be detected, specifically in the cases of some priests.²⁹ Even theoretically this is an incorrect approach to the problem, for it seems that the tax base consisted of land, draft animals, vineyards, gardens and sometimes fruit trees,

²⁹ See, for example, J. Lefort, "Fiscalité médiévale et informatique: Recherche sur les barèmes pour l'imposition des paysans byzantins au XIV^e siècle," *Revue historique*, 512 (1974), 329, n. 5.

and was not generally influenced by other factors. Thus, the answer must be sought elsewhere.

In some cases there is no ambiguity. Such is the case of the widow Πλουμῶ who had a son "Γεώργιος Τζυκαλάς," "George the potter." The same can be said of "Μιχαήλ ὁ Νεροπώλης, ὁ αὐτὸς Πελεκάνος," that is, "Michael the water-seller; he is a carpenter."³⁰ Such clear references to people's crafts, however, are few. Somewhat more common, or perhaps easier to detect, is clear evidence that the description of a craft has become a proper name. Such an example appears in Gomatou, in the domain of the monastery of the Great Lavra. It is the case of household nos. 25 and 26 of the *apographe* of 1300. No. 25 reads, "widow Kale, wife of Konstantinos the Pelekites." No. 26 reads "Demetrios, her other son." This does not tell us whether the designation "Pelekites," which had properly belonged to Kale's deceased husband, was a family name or the indication of a craft. The answer is found in the *apographe* of 1321. Household no. 24 is headed by "widow Theodora Pelekito." She had been the wife of Demetrios, and clearly the name "Pelekites" is or has become a proper name.

Another case in the same village may show the very process of change from professional designation to family name. It is the case of the family which constituted household nos. 45 and 46 in 1300, and 68, 69 in 1321. In 1300, household no. 45 is headed by "Μιχαήλ Σκιαδάς ὁ γαμβρὸς Θεοδώρας χήρας τῆς Δαμασκοῦς," "Michael Skiadas, the in-law of widow Theodora Damaskou." Household no. 46 is headed by "Φωτεινὸς Ῥάπτης, ὁ ἕτερος υἱὸς αὐτοῦ," "Foteinos Raptēs, his other son." Michael's son Foteinos is almost certainly a tailor. In the next generation, however, the name Raptēs, which has been retained, has become a family name and no longer has any professional significance. Thus, in 1321,

³⁰ Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 62; Lavra, Selas, 1321, 121; cf. Lavra, Selas, 1321, 38. Iveron, Melintziani, 1341, 18. Cf. the man called Georgios who seems to have become a weaver between 1320 and 1341: Iveron, Ierissos, 1320, 5, 1341, 8.

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Foteinos' two sons, Georgios and Kyriakos, are both identified as "Raptēs." The stability of this family name is not very great. The (presumably) eldest son is identified as "Γεώργιος Ράπτης ὁ Φωτεινός," and it is probable that his son would eventually be known as Foteinos rather than as Raptēs. Thus a baptismal name became a family name, in a not uncommon process.

In the same village of Gomatou, in the domain of Lavra, a widow Maria, identified in 1300 as "the (daughter?)-in-law of Georgios Tzykalas," appears in 1321 as "widow Maria Tzykalo"—the name of her presumed father-in-law, who may or may not have been a potter, has become her own proper name.³¹

While it is unnecessary to multiply the examples, it is important to mention that in those households which have a time-series down to the *apographe* of 1341, that is which continue for three or more generations, there is remarkable stability in the family names. This is a phenomenon which one may observe in general, that is, regardless of the way the family name is formed, but which also applies to the particular case of names which once had designated professions.³² One example should suffice, from the domain of the monastery of Iveron, in the village of Gomatou, where the second household in 1301 is headed by "Theodoros Tzykalas." By 1317, Theodoros is dead, and the household is headed by his daughter, "χήρα Ζωῆ ἡ Τζυκαλώ," who has kept her father's name, not that of her husband. In 1341, the family continues in the person of Zoë's daughter Anna, who is also a widow and retains her grandfather's name, being designated as "Ἄννα χήρα ἡ Τζυκαλώ." Thus, Tzykalas

³¹ Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 58; 1321, 80.

³² There is a certain circularity in this observation, since one way of identifying a time-series household is precisely through the continuity of names. This, however, is not the only way; one can discover continuity by looking at the landed property of the various peasant families, by following the various family relationships, and even by the place of the household in the *praktikon*, since, in general, old families were placed before new additions.

is a proper name, which has survived at least three generations.³³

A counterexample should also be given. It is furnished by the set of households which in 1301 was headed by Nikolaos Pissianos. One of his nieces (or possibly a daughter) named Anna, married Ioannes Tzangares, who was head of the household in 1317 and in 1320. He is designated as “Ἰωάννης Τζαγκάρης ὁ γαμβρὸς τοῦ Πισσιάνου,” “Ioannes Tzangares, in-law of Pissianos,” and it is not certain whether he is a shoemaker or not. By 1341 he is dead, and his widow, Anna, retains her maiden-name, being designated as “Ἄννα χήρα ἡ τοῦ Πισσιάνου.” The name Tzangares has been discontinued, either because it really did designate the man’s craft and therefore did not persist after his death or, which is more likely, because Anna’s marital connection was considered less important than her kinship tie with the Pissianoι, who seem to have been an established family in the village.³⁴

Thus, in the case of names deriving from crafts, one can see a developing process. Sometimes a craft is designated; at other times, the designation has become a family name, with varying degrees of stability. In the village of Gomatou, with a known population of 562 in 1300–1301 (130 households), the following crafts are represented in the names of either the heads or one of the members of households: two Kapasades (hatter), seven Tzykalades, three Chalkeis (I do not include such designations as “Ioannes, son of Chalkeus,” or “Ioannes, in-law of Chalkeus”), seven Tzangaredes and one widow Kalliga, six Raptēs, two Skiadades, two with the name Pelekites, three *iereis* (priests), one Alieus (fisherman), one Mylonas (miller).³⁵ Of these, the priests

³³ Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 2; Iveron, Gomatou, 1317, 2; Iveron, Gomatou, 1320, 2; Iveron, Gomatou, 1341, 26. Cf. *supra*, p. 115.

³⁴ Iveron, Ierissos, 1301, 10; 1317, 9; 1320, 9; 1341, 5.

³⁵ Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 36; Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 7; Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 2, 9, 20; Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 59, 62, 66, 69, 41, 42, 53; Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 27, 45; Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 20, 48, 56, 63, 16, 73; Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 42; Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 3, 4,

certainly do exercise their profession; there are also three potters, four shoemakers, one smith, three tailors and one tent- or hatmaker (Skiadas) who can be assumed, with greater or lesser certainty, to be exercising the craft whose name they bear.³⁶ On the other hand, it is certain that the professional designations have become names in the case of four Tzykalades, one Kalligas, two Pelekites, and one Chalkeus.³⁷

In a village of 562 people, then, there would be three priests and what seems like an adequate number of potters and shoe-makers, while three "tailors," whatever that may be, seems extravagant. There is a noticeable absence of saddle-makers.³⁸ One smith is probably not sufficient in a village where the main economic activities centered on agriculture, and where, accordingly, there were various implements to be made or repaired. It is more than possible that one or more of the other men bearing the name "Chalkeus" did in fact exercise the profession. But they are harder to detect, since "Chalkeus" seems to have already become an established name. This is suggested by the relatively high number of people related to men named Chalkeus who do not, themselves, appear on the *praktikon*.

10, 52, 46, 28, 45, 25, 26, 9; Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 34, 37; Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 1, 77.

³⁶ Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 62, 66, 69, 48, 42, 10, 46, 52, 45; Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 16, 27, 45. For the possible interpretation of Skiadas as tentmaker, see Liddell-Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, σκιάδειον, and Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, σκιάδιον.

³⁷ Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 59, 73, 25, 26, 53; Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 2, 9, 10, 33. In 1321, there were in Gomatou seven Tzykalades, one Chalkeus, nine Tzangaredes, five Raptas, two Yfantedes, six Skiadades, a widow Pelekito, a widow Kapasa and an Anna Keporia (gardener). Two priests, one potter, two shoemakers, one tailor, one weaver, and possibly one tent- or hatmaker exercised their professions: Iveron, Gomatou, 1320, 10; Lavra, Gomatou, 1321, 9, 59, 18, 96, 10, 14, 67. The number of known *paroikoi* in Gomatou at that time was 537 (150 households).

³⁸ There is a "saddlemaker" ("Σαγμαράς Παχυνικόλαος") in Selas: Lavra, Selas, 1300, 80.

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Of the many such examples, I mention "Ioannes, in-law of Chalkeus," "Ioannes, son of Chalkeus," "Ioannes, son of Michael Chalkeus."³⁹

In terms of the economics of the village, it is interesting to observe that most of the necessities of life could be provided by craftsmen resident in the village itself. These craftsmen, it must once again be noted, were not distinguishable from the rest of the villagers in terms of taxable property, although it is possible that they participated less actively than the others in farming the lands of the monastery. The degree of occupational differentiation among villagers was not very great, since for most of the craftsmen their craft was a secondary economic activity. Still, the occupational differentiation seems striking if we compare it with that of the eleventh and twelfth-century *paroikoi* for whom some scanty information exists. In the *praktikon* given to Andronikos Doukas in 1073, there are forty-eight households whose heads are identifiable by name. Among the forty-eight, there is one Sideras, who seems to be exercising his craft, one Orofylax, one "goose-keeper?" ("Χηνάριος"), one Marmaras and one widow Sapouna (soap-maker). Together, the names deriving from crafts make up 11 percent of the population, and of these the smith, and possibly the *orofylax* (boundary-guard? mountain guard?) may be exercising their craft.⁴⁰ From two documents of the late twelfth century, we can identify another forty-seven heads of household; in one of the documents all the *paroikoi* except one are identified *solely* by their relationship to someone else; the exception is a man identified as Chalkeus, who certainly was a smith. The reason for this certainty is that, the usual entry being "X, son (or brother) of Y," the man who interests us is identified as "Παγκράτιος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ χαλκεύς, ζευγαράτος," that is, "Pangratos, his

³⁹ Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 1, 5; Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 36.

⁴⁰ F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca medii aevi*, vi (Vienna, 1890), pp. 7-13.

brother, smith, *zeugaratos*." Were "Chalkeus" a name, the entry would have read: "Παγκράτιος χαλκεύς, ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, ζευγαράτος."⁴¹

Thus, from the little information we have from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it seems that the population of *paroikoi* comprised few craftsmen, and that the names deriving from crafts were correspondingly few. A probable explanation is that in this period grants of *paroikoi* were sporadic, and the number of *paroikoi* in a domain was not very large; possibly, the grant was primarily of men whose sole activity was agriculture. In the first half of the fourteenth century, by contrast, great numbers of *paroikoi* were granted to a landlord, so that the majority of the population of an entire village might consist of *paroikoi*; as a result, the distribution of craftsmen in the population of *paroikoi* would be substantially the same as that in the village.

From the twelfth century also, we have some lists of names and jobs of monks in the great monasteries of Mount Athos. Two such lists from Lavra show the following professions or crafts: ναύκληρος, ξυλουργός, ἀποθηκάρης, μάγειρος, τζαγγάρης, βαγενάρης, κελλάρης, ἀμπελικός, ράπτης, ὑφαντής, οἰκονόμος, παρεκκλησιάρης, ἀλίς (= ἀλιεύς?), ἀναγνώστης, μαΐστωρ, οἰκοδόμος, κελλαρίτης, τζυκαλᾶς, σχοινοπλόκος, i.e., shipbuilder, stewards, cook, shoemaker, barrelmakers, vineyard tender (?), tailor, weaver, churchwarden, fisherman, carpenters, reader, ropemaker, potter.⁴² Of these, only some appear as names in the eleventh century: Tzangares, Vagenares, Raptēs, Yfantēs, Tzykalas, Pelekanos (shoemaker, barrelmaker, tailor, weaver, potter, carpenter), suggesting I think that these crafts were commonly exercised by the peasants, while others, such as those of cook, steward, reader, ropemaker, boatmaker were not.

⁴¹ P. Lemerle et al., *Actes de Lavra, Première partie, des origines à 1204*, in the series *Archives de l'Athos* (Paris, 1970), nos. 64 (1162), 65 (1181).

⁴² *Ibid.*, no. 62 (1154) and appendix 1.

TOPONYMICS

These form an important category, and as can be seen from Table iv-1, their proportion increases slightly with time. The interpretation one might give to this observation depends on one's ability to distinguish recent immigration from ancient movements. For example, the name "Anatolikos" clearly indicates that the family which bears it came from the East, presumably from Asia Minor. However, this is of little interest, unless it can be established that the family—and others like it—immigrated from Asia Minor within a comparatively short period, say one or two generations before the *apographe*. If the approximate date of immigration is unknown, then the fact that the family came once from Asia Minor is not very useful.

Because of this difficulty, the historian should be very careful in his interpretation of the data presented here. However, I think that some suggestions may be safely made. First, it is very likely that peasant "family" names did not have much stability before the early thirteenth century, and perhaps not even then. Thus, whatever the exact date of immigration into Macedonia of people whose names suggest that they came from other regions, it probably does not exceed one hundred years. Second, one can ascribe with some degree of certainty probable dates to immigration from various parts of the Empire. Immigration from Greece, as suggested by names such as Thebaios, Korinthios, Moraites, could be as old as the Latin occupation, but has no reason to be; it is more likely that the emigration in question followed the reestablishment of Byzantine power in Macedonia, and perhaps even the reestablishment of the Empire at Constantinople. Immigrants from the islands of the Aegean (that is, people bearing the names Lemnaios, Nesiotes, Naxeiotos) probably came to Macedonia in the second half of the thirteenth century, after the wars of Michael VIII with the remaining Latin states had made life on the islands uncertain. The uncertainty persisted and

even increased in the late thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries because of the continuing presence of pirates in the Aegean.⁴³ As for Asia Minor, emigration from that region, at least insofar as it can be detected from peasant names, was much more limited than might be expected. The narrative sources, especially Pachymeres, speak of large-scale emigration of the population of Asia Minor in the very early years of the fourteenth century; true, Pachymeres says that they went into the islands of the Propontis and into Constantinople and Thrace, and there is no mention of further displacement to Macedonia.⁴⁴ One would have expected, however, that if there had been large-scale immigration of Anatolian peasants, a significant number of them would have appeared, as monastic *paroikoi*, in Macedonia. Indeed, some suggestion of recent immigration from Asia Minor does exist. While the name Anatolikos is too dubious, other names are not. The presence of the proper name Prousenos and the baptismal names Nikaia and Laodikenos indicate that the bearers, or their immediate forefathers, had come from Asia Minor.⁴⁵ The number of such

⁴³ H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, "Villages désertés en Grèce, un bilan provisoire," in *Villages désertés et histoire économique. Les hommes et la terre*, xi (Paris, 1965), 364. Speros Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh Through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1971), 253–254. Cf. P. Charanis, "Town and Country in the Byzantine Possessions of the Balkan Peninsula During the Later Period of the Empire," *Aspects of the Balkans, Continuity and Change* (The Hague, 1972), 127.

⁴⁴ A. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins; The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282–1328* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), 90–91. Displacement into Macedonia does seem to have occurred later in the fourteenth century, as we learn from a Serbian chrysobull of Stephen Dušan in *Akty russkago na svjatom Afone monastyrija sv. Panteleimona* (Kiev, 1873), 365.

⁴⁵ Unpublished *praktikon* of Vatopedi, No. 334 of the Collège de France, Zavarnikeia, 11; Lavra, Gomatou, 1321, 35. Cf. *supra*, p. 112. It should be noted that peasants may have identified themselves by reference to the largest city of the region from which they had come, even if they had in fact not resided in that city: R. Mols, *Introduction à la démographie historique des villes d'Europe du XIV^e au XVIII^e siècle*, II (Louvain, 1955), 372.

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immigrants, however, is small and does not increase significantly from the *apographe* of 1300-1301 to that of 1321, as it would have done had the battle of Bapheus been followed by a great exodus of the population.

In all three *apographai* under discussion, the greatest number of toponymics comes from Macedonia itself but, of course, outside the domain in which these families are found. This is an expected and logical situation. It simply means that the population of *paroikoi*, which was a surprisingly mobile one, moved more easily within rather confined boundaries. Names like Fourneiotes, Kasandrenos, Melenikeiotes, Ravenikiotes, Didymoteichites, Zigniotes indicate that the families had migrated within Macedonia from one domain and one region to another. Interestingly enough, the majority of such cases does not consist of *eleutheroi*, who might have been assumed to have had the greatest freedom of movement. On the contrary, we are dealing with *paroikoi* who in juridical and economic terms are indistinguishable from other *paroikoi*, but who had moved within Macedonia; at any given time, they made up between 7 percent and 9 percent of the peasant population of the monastic domains. One notices that their proportion to the rest of the peasant population increases slightly from 1300 to 1341, while their proportion to the rest of the families whose names are toponymics increases from 37 percent to 50 percent in the same period. It is possible to argue that the displacement—or opportunity for movement—which these figures suggest was the result of the civil wars of the 1320's, which created a situation of some uncertainty in Macedonia.

The heading "Other Nationalities" in table iv-2 refers to names such as "Alvanites," "Vlachos" and "Vlachopoulos," or "Armenopoulos," and is one which I am not prepared to interpret at the moment. It seems, on the face of it, unlikely that a man named "Armenopoulos" should have any recent connection with Armenia. However, such names do connote nationality or place of origin, and so form part of

TABLE IV-2
Breakdown of Toponymics According to Region, Theme of Thessaloniki, Main Sample^a

Apographe	Macedonia	Aegean	Asia Minor	Greece	Other Nationality	Slavic	Other
1300 - 1301	27 (37%)	6 (8%)	8 (11%)	9 (12%)	14 (19%)	6 (8%)	3 (4%)
1320 - 1321	78 (43%)	24 (13%)	23 (13%)	12 (7%)	35 (19%)	3 (2%)	2 (1%)
1338 - 1341	20 (50%)	4 (10%)	4 (10%)	4 (10%)	6 (15%)	2 (5%)	0

^aThe numbers outside parentheses represent absolute figures.

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the category of toponymics. Names that suggest Slavic origin (for example, Voulgaros) are also impossible to interpret, either in terms of their precise ethnological meaning or in terms of the date of immigration of the families bearing that name, if, indeed, such immigration is posited, which seems doubtful. However, there is a more useful approach to the question of possible Slavic elements in the peasant population of Macedonia.

A certain number of the peasant families under examination have one or more members who bear a clearly Slavic name such as Drazos, Sneagoula, Dragosthlavos, and so on. These families do not necessarily, indeed do not usually, have a proper name which denotes immigration from a Slavic region; rather, it is the names themselves which are Slavic. The percentages of the households whose heads bear such names are given in table IV-3 for the theme of Thessaloniki. It can be readily seen that these proportions are very low.

TABLE IV-3
Slavic Names, Theme of Thessaloniki, Main Sample^a

1300 - 1301	33 (8%)
1320 - 1321	51 (5%)
1338 - 1341	5 (3%)

^aThe numbers outside parentheses represent absolute figures.

On the contrary, in the theme of Strymon and the area around Strumitsa, the presence of Slavic names is much more evident.⁴⁶ The proportions given in table IV-4 represent an underestimate of the true representation of Slavic names, because of a technical problem. In this area, we

⁴⁶ Even here there seems to be great variation from place to place. In the Slavic *praktikon* of the monastery of Chilandar for domains located near Strumitsa, the number of households with Slavic names is limited to 23 out of 127, i.e., 18 percent. This *praktikon* has been published by V. Mošin, "Akti iz Svetogorskih arhiva," *Spomennik der Kgl. Serb. Akademie*, 2. ser., *Philos.-Philologische Klasse*, 70, 5 (Belgrade, 1939), 205-218.

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TABLE IV-4

Slavic Names, Theme of Strymon^a

1316	76 (26%)
ca. 1325	8 (16%)
1341	70 (30%)

^aThe numbers outside parentheses represent absolute figures. The *apographe* of 1316 includes the villages Voriskos, Radolivous, Ovelos, Dovrovikeia, and that of 1341 includes Voriskos and Radolivous: Dölger, "Sechs Praktika," *praktika* RK and RV. My sample for 1325 is from the villages Semaltos, Hotolivou, and Zavarnikeia, from the unpublished *praktikon* for Vatopedi, No. 334, Collège de France.

frequently have laterally extended households, and in order to keep to the pattern established up to now, I have taken into account *only* the names of the heads of household. Sometimes, however, the head of household may have a neutral name, such as George, while his brother, who heads another family in the same household, may have a Slavic name, such as Stanisthlavos. Such cases are discounted in my calculations. Even so, it is immediately obvious that the number of households headed by men with Slavic names is much larger than in the theme of Thessaloniki. The proportion becomes overwhelming in the area around Strumitsa for which we have an unpublished *praktikon* for the monastery of Iveron, dating from 1320.⁴⁷ Here, 76 percent of the fifty-five households are headed by people with Slavic names.

Of course, it would be dangerous to try to draw firm conclusions about the ethnic composition of the Macedonian countryside in the fourteenth century merely on the evidence of names. However, this evidence should not be disregarded. Although it proves nothing, it suggests that the Slavic element of the rural population was rather weak in the theme of Thessaloniki, rather stronger in the theme of Strymon, and very strong in Strumitsa and its environs. In

⁴⁷ No. 43 of the Collège de France.

this connection, one is reminded of the experience of Nicephorus Gregoras, who traveled through Strumitsa on his way to Stephen Dečanski, King of the Serbians, in 1327. He found the area heavily wooded, cold, inhospitable, and wild, and its inhabitants much suited to the climate. He had difficulty understanding them, for they did not speak Greek, but Slavic of some kind. Gregoras calls them "ἄποικοι Μυσῶν," which might indicate that their language was related to Bulgarian.⁴⁸

Among the "Other Nationalities" in table iv-2 are a small number of individuals whose presence among the peasants of Macedonia arouses the imagination. Who was the man called "Μπέρον ὁ Φράγγος" who, in 1301, was settled in Kato Volvos, in a domain of Iveron, was married, had a sister named Maria, property consisting of four pigs, and was paying one-third of a *hyperpyron* as tax?⁴⁹ He is never found again in the other *apographai*, but a poverty-stricken, overtaxed Frank, living among Greek *paroikoi*, makes one wonder about the fate of the remnants of western settlers after the fall of the Latin Empire. In 1321 in the village of Gomatou, there was a man named Michael Vasmoulos, who replaced a *paroikos* named Gomaras on the latter's *stasis*. He was married, had a son, possessed a horse and a cow, a tiny piece of vineyard and a garden, and paid a tax of two-thirds of a *hyperpyron*. Here, perhaps, is a living example of the settlement of some Gasmouloi on the land, after the dissolution of the imperial fleet in 1285.⁵⁰ And then, there is "John of the Jews" ("Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐξ Ἰουδαίων"), who had married the daughter or granddaughter of a priest, was settled in Gomatou and, in 1300, paid no taxes and had no property. That he was a recent convert is indicated by the description of him in 1321: "John the Baptized"

⁴⁸ Nicephori Gregorae, *Byzantina Historia*, ed. L. Schopen, I (Bonn, 1829), 374-383, especially 378.

⁴⁹ Iveron, Kato Volvos, 1301, 33. Cf. also "Ἰντάλκος ὁ τοῦ Δομενίκου," *Λavra, Aghia Euphemia*, 1321, 35.

⁵⁰ *Lavra, Gomatou*, 1321, 86. Cf. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, pp. 60, 64, 75.

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("Ἰωάννης ὁ Βεβαπτισμένος").⁵¹ He now had three sons and a daughter, possessed some animals, a vineyard and a few fruit trees, and paid a tax of one *hyperpyron*. He was clearly settled for good, this converted Jew, but his past raises questions: was he from the village itself, had he come from the city, had he been passing through, had he converted for religious reasons, for social acceptance, or for love of his wife Theodora?⁵²

IDENTIFICATION THROUGH FAMILY TIES AND NICKNAMES

As can be seen in table VI-1, family ties and nicknames are by far the most extensive, and therefore the most commonly used means of identification. The family relationship is often used as identifier, even when the person described has already been identified by profession or by a name denoting place of origin. Nicknames are formed either from personal traits or from a non-stated relationship to someone else (Nikephoria, Engoponia). Nicknames related to personal traits refer, for the most part, to personal characteristics such as a curly beard (Klostogenes), stuttering (Travlos), dark skin or hair (Melachrenos, Mavrovasilas), dark legs (Mavropodes). Occasionally, they seem to relate to character: thus, Kaloutzikos, must have been a man of particularly pleasant disposition. People were also mocked for reasons which will remain forever unknown. We cannot tell why his neighbors called a man Sfaxangoures ("the cucumber-slayer") or whether Vasileios Arkoudophagos ("the bear-eater") had once boasted of his great strength and thus merited his nickname. As for the man called Transpetes, he probably had a big house or claimed he had a big house.⁵³

⁵¹ Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 31; Lavra, Gomatou, 1321, 58.

⁵² On the Jews in this period, see D. Jacoby, "Les juifs vénitiens de Constantinople et leur communauté du XIII^e au milieu du XV^e siècle," *Revue d'études juives*, 131 (1972), 397-410.

⁵³ Iveron, Radolivous, 1316, 75; Iveron, Kato Volvos, 1301, 34;

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The category of names which are formed by a non-stated relationship to someone else includes people whose names began as baptismal names and developed into family names, thus identifying not a single individual but his family as well. Such seems to have been the case of a man who, in 1301, is simply identified as "Παναγιώτης ὁ σύγγαμβρος Ἰωάννου τοῦ Τζαγγαρίου."

The Panaghiotes in this case is either a baptismal name or a toponymic (that is, from the village of Panaghia), but most probably the first. In 1320, Panaghiotes' son is known as "Δημήτριος ὁ Παναγιώτης," and in 1341 another son also has the name "Ἰωάννης ὁ Παναγιώτης." In the third generation, also in 1341, we find a "Νικόλαος, υἱὸς Δημητρίου τοῦ Παναγιώτου"; it may be assumed that he also was known as "Νικόλαος ὁ Παναγιώτης."⁵⁴ A similar case appears in the same village. In 1301, there is a man who is simply identified as Zaharias. In 1320, we find that his daughter, Maria, is married to a man known as "Γεώργιος, ὁ γαμβρὸς τοῦ Ζαχαρίου." In 1341, this same man appears as "Γεώργιος, ὁ Ζαχαρίας."⁵⁵ A baptismal name has become a family name, and is used to identify not a man's son, but his son-in-law. It has already been noted that proper names are occasionally used as baptismal names.

Identification through family relationships is made in various ways. The figure in table iv-1 is kept low by the fact that I have included *primarily* (though not solely) those who are not otherwise identified. For example, an entry such as "Michael, brother of Nikolaos Chalkeus," would be placed in this category, whereas "Michael Chalkeus, brother of Nikolaos" would not be. Even with this stricture, it is a large category, suggesting that the kinship tie was one of

Lavra, Selas, 1321, 58; Iveron, Ierissos, 1301, 35; Lavra, Metalin, 1300, 2; Iveron, Radolivos, 1316, 121; Iveron, Gomatou, 1320, 21; Iveron, Kato Volvos, 1301, 8, 13; Lavra, Krya Pegadia, 1321, 16.

⁵⁴ Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 28; Iveron, Gomatou, 1320, 24; Iveron, Gomatou, 1341, 20, 22.

⁵⁵ Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 24; Iveron, Gomatou, 1320, 21; Iveron, Gomatou, 1341, 18.

the strongest ways of identification. The most common relationships which are used for identification are: son (or daughter), brother, in-law, and more rarely nephew or niece. When the relationship is inter-generational, it is almost always stated in a way which gives precedence to the older generation: a man is very often identified as someone's son-in-law, whereas a head of household is almost never identified as someone's father-in-law.

Identification through family ties does not hold to hard-and-fast rules. In the case of widows, for example, the identification is made sometimes through their husbands, but sometimes also through their fathers, and either identification may be passed on to their children. Maria, the daughter of Georgios Platanas, was already married to a man named Ioannes Raptēs in the *apographe* of 1300, but in that of 1321 she appears as "χήρα Μαρία ἡ Πλατανώ," thus keeping her father's name.⁵⁶ In 1301, Zoë, daughter of Theodoros Tzykalas, was married to a man named Michael, but after his death she appears as "χήρα Ζωὴ ἡ Τζυκαλώ," and her daughter, a widow in 1341, continues to keep the name of her paternal grandfather, being known as "Ἄννα χήρα ἡ Τζυκαλώ."⁵⁷

In the case of women, it is more usual for the marriage tie to supersede the blood tie, and so most widows are known by the name of their husbands. The examples are too numerous to mention, except perhaps for the striking case of two widows living in the village Stomion, in the domain of Xenophon in 1338. One, Argyre, is known as "the wife of Kelliotes" while the other, Theodora, is known as the "daughter of Kelliotes."⁵⁸ Occasionally, the marriage tie proves very strong in the case of men also, and a man

⁵⁶ Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 51, 52; Lavra, Gomatou, 1321, 74; cf. *supra*, pp. 122-123.

⁵⁷ Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 2; Iveron, Gomatou, 1320, 2; Iveron, Gomatou, 1341, 46. Cf. also, Lavra, Gradista, 1300, 3; Lavra, Gradista, 1321, 5, 30; also, Iveron, Kato Volvos, 1320, 8, 26, and Petit, *Xénophon*, Stomion, 1338, 5.

⁵⁸ Petit, *Xénophon*, Stomion, 1338, 4, 5.

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may shed his own name and adopt that of his wife's kin. Such is the case of Theodoros, who in 1300 was known as "ὁ γαμβρὸς Ξένου τοῦ Πέτζικα," "the in-law of Xenos Petzikas." This in itself would not be strange, were it not that his son Georgios, was known, in 1321, as "Γεώργιος ὁ Πέτζικας," thus taking the name of his maternal grandfather.⁵⁹ Similar is the case of Michael, who, in 1301, was married to Eleni, daughter of Makedon; by 1317 he was known as "Μιχαήλ ὁ Μακεδών," and continued to be so known in 1320 and 1341.⁶⁰ The fact that family ties were a very common way of identification reflects the actual situation in the villages. We have seen that a great number of households were related through kinship ties.

It thus seems that identification through family relationships is the most natural one and the one used by the villagers themselves. As a way of identifying a family over time, it had the disadvantage that each generation would almost have to identify itself anew; but within a small society, this was not much of a problem. The bureaucracy which drew up our records, however, probably wanted a more efficient way. The relatively high incidence and continuity over time of names derived from professions or place of origin reflect, on the one hand, the fact that large segments of rural society entered the ranks of the *paroikoi* and, on the other, the demands of bureaucratic record-keeping. The development of proper names from baptismal names is possibly an answer to the same need. Possibly, the use of names derived from professions and toponymics was superimposed, in a way, over the native system of identification through the family. In any case, this is a fourteenth-century phenomenon.

It is instructive to look again at the eleventh- and twelfth-century records, when the census of individual households of *paroikoi* was just beginning, and at the fif-

⁵⁹ Lavra, Metalin, 1300, 14; Lavra, Metalin, 1321, 12.

⁶⁰ Iveron, Melintziani, 1301, 15; 1320, 15; 1341, 11. Cf. Dölger, "Sechs Praktika," p. 26.

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teenth century, when the Byzantines and then the Ottomans started once again to keep records, after a hiatus due to the disorganization of political and economic life. In both cases, identification is overwhelmingly by means of the family tie or the nickname. In the twelfth-century records of Lavra, 87 percent of the heads of household are identified *only* by family relationships or by a rubric such as "Τξέρνης τοῦ Ἰωάννου."⁶¹ In the *praktikon* for Andronikos Doukas, 30 percent of the identifications are by nickname and 47 percent by family tie. Only 11 percent of the people are identified by a name derived from profession and 6 percent by a toponymic.⁶² If we compare these figures to table IV-1 and remember that in table IV-1 there is much double-identification, whereas in the *praktikon* for Doukas there is none, we will see that in the fourteenth-century identification by craft and toponymic has assumed an important place at the expense of identification by family tie alone.

For fifteenth-century Macedonia, I have two small samples, one dated 1409, and the other dating from the end of the century. In the first sample, there are seventy-four identifiable heads of household, from the villages of Gomatou, Pinsson, and Drymosita. Only 5 of these 74 (7 percent) are identified by craft or profession: 2 are named Chalkeus, 1 is a priest, 1 is named Flevotomos, and 1 is named Psomas (names derived from a craft). Only 9 (12 percent) are identified by a toponymic, and 3 (4 percent) are mentioned by their first name only. The rest, that is 77 percent of the population, are identified either by a nickname, or by a "proper" name which derives from a baptismal name, or by a stated relationship to someone else.⁶³

The second sample consists of an Ottoman list of 77 heads of household, in the timar of Chauss Mehmed in the

⁶¹ Lemerle *et al.*, *Actes de Lavra*, I, nos. 64, 65. Cf. no. 6.

⁶² Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, VI, no. II.

⁶³ *Praktikon* of P. Gazes, G. Prinkeps for Lavra (1409), Collège de France no. 215.

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village of Gomatou. In the Bulgarian translation, their names appear in the form "Jani Kosta, Dimo Kosta," which I take to be a translation from the Greek by way of Turkish of an entry which would read "Ἰωάννης ὁ τοῦ Κώστα (Κωνσταντίνου), Δημος ὁ τοῦ Κώστα." Of the 68 households headed by men, 67 names are legible, and of these 42 (62 percent) have *only* the form of identification just mentioned; all eight widows, heads of household, are identified as "widow X, wife of Y."⁶⁴ Thus, it seems clear that over time the most constant, common, and viable form of identification was stated or unstated family relationship, while identification by toponymic and craft, common in the first half of the fourteenth century, was less commonly used in the very early *apographai* and was no longer much employed in the fifteenth century.

This survey of the names of the *paroikoi* of fourteenth-century Macedonia has yielded some information about social conditions in the countryside. It suggests that the ties of dependence were spreading to men who were not only peasants but also craftsmen. There is even a man called "Stratiotes,"⁶⁵ whose name may indicate that he was once a small landlord and a soldier, but who subsequently declined into the class of *paroikoi*. It is also obvious that among the peasants of Macedonia there were some who had immigrated from other regions of the Empire into what may have seemed a safe area.

In terms of the continuity of names, it may be observed that family names could be and were passed down the male or the female line. Sometimes a man assumed the name of his wife's family; at other times, he kept his own name, but she continued to be known by her father's (or sometimes her mother's) name; in either case, the children might also inherit their mother's name. It was, however, much more

⁶⁴ N. Todorov and B. Nedkov, eds., *Turski izvori za B'lgarskata istorija, Izvori za B'lgarskata istorija*, ser. xv-xvi, no. II (Sofia, 1966), 451.

⁶⁵ Lavra, Agia Euphemia, 1321, 19. Cf. *infra*, chapter v.

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usual for names to continue through the male line, and it was very common for widows to be known by their husbands' first name, for example, "Μαρία χήρα ἡ Νικηφορία."

The record-keeping to which we owe our sources reflects each landlord's desire to have his *paroikoi* listed, so that he would have proof they belonged to him, and could try to recover them if they fled to another landlord. The influence of the bureaucracy can be seen in the fact that there are very few *paroikoi* who are recorded by their first name only. The bureaucratic hand is also perhaps responsible for the frequent multiple identification of individuals. The fourteenth-century Byzantine *paroikos* was a man whose every close relative and every possession was known to his landlord and to the state. And yet, despite this fact, and despite the presumed effort of the landlord to keep his *paroikoi* on the domain, there was in this period a significant movement of families of *paroikoi* out of the monastic lands into places where we cannot find them, because of the paucity of the sources.

CHAPTER V

The Dependent Peasant and His Holding

THE STATUS OF PAROIKOS

THE Byzantine peasants of the fourteenth century were, for the most part, dependent peasants; they were the *paroikoi* of the fisc, of a monastery, or of laymen. While this is a well-known fact, neither the exact form of the dependence nor its extent have been clearly established. While some scholars claim that there were free peasants in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, others argue that the indices of freedom are misleading, and that the peasants who appear as independent were *paroikoi* of the fisc.¹ The argument is, to some degree, one which depends on the social and economic role one ascribes to the category of people who owned few lands, with perhaps a few *paroikoi*, yielding small revenues, but who fought in the army. Such were the Klazomenites, soldiers stationed near Serres, who, in 1342, requested and received an imperial guarantee that they could keep part of their *oikonomiai* (with annual revenues of ten to twelve *hyperpyra*) and transmit it to their legitimate heirs, as long as they performed their obligations to the state. Whether people like these "soldiers"

¹ P. Charanis, "On the Social Structure and Economic Organization of the Byzantine Empire in the Thirteenth Century and Later," *Byzantinoslavica*, 12 (1951), 122ff.; F. Dölger, "Die Frage des Grundeigentums in Byzanz," *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Buch Kunstverlag Ettal, 1953), 223-227; *idem*, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung* (Leipzig, Berlin, 1927), 67 n. 2; G. Ostrogorskij, *Quelques problèmes d'histoire de la paysannerie byzantine* (Brussels, 1956), *passim*.

should be considered as members of the peasant class or as members of an elite is a basic question.² In economic terms (and assuming that the *posotes* [the revenues] which they wanted to transform into hereditary holdings was a considerable part of their property), these "soldiers" were worse off than a tenth-century peasant soldier, and possibly worse off than some fourteenth-century dependent peasants.³ In social terms, they seem to be in a privileged position: their holdings are guaranteed in hereditary possession, as long as they perform the presumably military service which they owe to the state. This in itself distinguishes them from the dependent peasants. There is no indication that they cultivated their lands; they probably had *paroikoi*, or leased their lands to peasants for a part of the produce, and this again places them in a privileged position in the rural society. Thus, I believe that these "soldiers" were an intermediate category which lay between the aristocrats and the dependent peasants, and whose position was precarious.

With time and with the expansion of large properties, some of these soldiers joined the class of dependent peasants. An example of this transformation is shown in an act of the first half of the fourteenth century. The Emperor Andronikos II had donated to the monastery of Zographou a village named Prevista in the theme of Strymon. A man named Michael, son of Daniel, and presumably an inhabitant of this village, had been in the army; by imperial decree, he was now taken off the army lists, and was given to the monastery

² G. Ostrogorskij, *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine* (Brussels, 1954), 125; F. Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges* (Munich, 1948), 16; A. Laiou, "The Byzantine Aristocracy in the Palaeologan Period: A Story of Arrested Development," *Viator*, 4 (1973), 142-143.

³ In the tenth century, a year's campaign could be bought off for 4-6 *nomismata*; the annual revenues of the military holding must have been at least three times that amount: N. Oikonomidès, *Actes de Dionysiou* (Paris, 1968), 39, 41. The real value of the tenth-century *nomisma* was, of course, much higher than that of the debased fourteenth-century coin.

along with his brothers and with a *paroikos* of his own. The imperial decree says that Michael had already been a dependent peasant of the monastery before he became a soldier. But this is unlikely, for Michael had been rich enough to have a *paroikos* of his own. The fact that the grant also includes Michael's brothers suggests that these people had been free peasants with some property, one of whom had been a soldier, and that they were now being transformed into *paroikoi*. This kind of change in status explains the surname Stratiotes which is encountered in our documents.⁴ In any case, a mere glance at appendix I, showing the number of lay landowners who are known to have held properties in the themes of Strymon and Thessaloniki, the same themes where the bulk of the possessions of the monasteries of Mount Athos were found, makes it impossible to think of the Macedonian population as one which included many independent peasants.

Most of the Macedonian peasants of the Palaeologan Empire were, I believe, *paroikoi*. But what exactly did the term mean in law and in practice? The *paroikoi* were not slaves. Their landowners did not have the right of life and death over them. The *paroikoi* were not considered *res*, as the slaves had been in Roman law.⁵ Moreover, the *paroikoi* had a legal personality. They could pass their property on to their children, they could make wills, they could alienate their property.⁶ That they did not need their landlord's formal permission to do so is made clear by the fact that most of the acts of sale did not specifically refer to such permission. Indeed, the one document in which *paroikoi* obtained the permission of their landlord before selling land deals with a very specific situation. That is an act of

⁴ W. Regel, E. Kurtz, B. Korablev, *Actes de Zographou, Vizantiiskij Vremennik*, 13 (1903), appendix, no. xvi, 37-38; cf. Lavra, Aghia Euphemia, 1321, 19: "Ἰωάννης ὁ Στρατιώτης." For the precariousness of small, independent property, see *infra*, pp. 212-213.

⁵ Constantine Harmenopoulos, *Manuale legum sive Hexabiblos cum appendicibus et legibus agrariis*, ed. G. E. Heimbach (Leipzig, 1851), book I, chapter xiv.

⁶ Ostrogorskij, *Paysannerie*, 45ff.

sale of a piece of land to the monastery of Esphigmenou by the *paroikoi* of Alexios Amnon. The sale was made "before trustworthy and most learned witnesses, and with the will and acceptance of the lord Alexios Amnon." The plot of land in question, however, did not belong to the *paroikoi* who were involved in the sale. It was the deserted holding of another *paroikos*, Mylonas, which had reverted to the landlord as all deserted holdings did; that is why Amnon's permission was required before the sale could take place.⁷

Thus, the *paroikos* had considerable legal rights, both on his person and on his property. His dependence, however, was very real, and consisted of two major elements. He paid his state taxes to the landlord, he paid the landlord a rent for cultivating his land, and he also had to do "service" to the landlord in a variety of ways. Furthermore, the *paroikos* was not supposed to leave the service of his landlord.

In granting to a landlord villages with all their inhabitants, or even just a few *paroikoi*, the Emperor transferred to the landlord the state tax (*telos*) which the *paroikoi* owed on their landed property and their animals. However, the payment of the state tax to persons rather than to the fisc was not, originally, sufficient to make a man into a *paroikos*. This is made clear by a Chrysobull of the Emperor Alexios I, given to the monks of Lavra at their request in 1081.⁸ Alexios had given to his brother Adrianos the right to receive the state taxes paid annually by the inhabitants of Cassandreia, where the monks of Lavra had certain possessions. The monks then feared "lest they be considered as *paroikoi* of the man to whom state taxes were paid, as though they were not owners of the land for which they paid taxes to another," and asked the Emperor to dispel these fears and clarify their position.⁹ The Emperor claimed

⁷ J. Lefort, *Actes d'Esphigménou* (Paris, 1973), no. 10 (1301).

⁸ P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, D. Papachryssanthou, *Actes de Lavra, Première partie, des origines à 1204* (Paris, 1970), no. 46 (1084); cf. Ostrogorskij, *Paysannerie*, 66-67.

⁹ Lemerle, Guillou, Svoronos, Papachryssanthou, *Lavra*, I, 250: "ὑπώπτευόν που καὶ ἐδέδισαν μήποτε καὶ πάροιχοι λογισθεῖεν τοῦ πρὸς ὄν

that the monks should have no such fear, that they would continue to hold their lands in full possession (*δεσποτικῶς*), but that, instead of paying their taxes to the fisc, they should transfer them to Adrianos. The matter, however, was not as simple as Alexios pretended. Already Adrianos had entered into disputes over land, not only with the monks but also with others who held lands in Cassandreia. The Emperor, confirming the monks in their possessions, specifically exempted the monastic *paroikoi* in Cassandreia from doing labor services to Adrianos, from being asked for anything else, and from being harassed.

This document is extremely important, for it shows the official distinction between paying the *telos* to an individual and becoming his dependent peasant; it also suggests the probable evolution of the system, which tends to blur the distinction. Alexios claimed that by simply transferring the state taxes to his brother, he was altering nothing in the legal status of either the lands or their inhabitants. The beneficiary of the grant (Adrianos) was simply given certain revenues of the fisc, in a grant similar to the *solemnia legisima*. But in practice this grant was perceived differently. Already, according to the monks, Adrianos was beginning to contest other landowners' possession of their lands.

The document also shows that the *paroikos* owed services, only some of which (labor services) were specified in the chrysobull. Thus, over and above the state tax, the landowner of a *paroikos* received some at least of the fruits of the labor of the *paroikoi*, that is, he received the feudal rent. The fact that the feudal rent is only partly defined in the state document suggests that further arrangements were in the realm of private law, between landlord and tenant. Even more important, perhaps, is the fact that, as can be seen from Alexios' chrysobull, in this particular case the *paroikoi* of Lavra in Cassandreia paid their state tax and

καταβάλλονται τὰ δημόσια, ὡς τάχα τὴν γῆν ἰδίαν μὴ ἔχοντες ὑπὲρ ἧς ἑτέρῳ καθεστᾶσιν ὑποτελεῖς καὶ ὑπόφοροι, καὶ ταύτης δὴ τῆς ὑποψίας λύσιν ἠτήσαντο."

rendered their services to two different individuals. They paid their state taxes to Adrianos, but this did not make them into his dependent peasants; they remained the *paroikoi* of Lavra, to whom they owed the rest of their services.

The fact that a donation of *paroikoi* does not consist of a simple transfer of state taxes can also be seen in the series of documents which make up the file of the *magistros* Leon Kephalas, whom Alexios I was rewarding for military service. A *proasteion* near Thessaloniki was transferred to Kephalas, after its previous masters had rebelled and been defeated. Kephalas received this land "with its entire area and possessions, . . . and with all the various crops that would be raised in it, and with the oxen and *paroikoi* found in it."¹⁰ The village Chostiane, in the theme of Moglena, was also given to Kephalas along with its *paroikoi* who were a few *voidatoi*, that is, peasants with lands which could be cultivated with one ox, and landless men. Kephalas was to have not only all the state taxes of the village but also "all the income derived from this village."¹¹ Most of the income presumably came from the labor of the *paroikoi*.

In the eleventh century, the *paroikoi* of private landlords and monasteries held some arable lands which they cultivated. This emerges from a *praktikon*, given in 1073 to Andronikos Doukas. His *paroikoi* were designated as *zeugaratoi*, *voidatoi* and *aktemones* or *kapnikarioi*. Only the *zeugaratoi* (that is, those holding the greatest quantity of land) seem to be paying a land tax.¹² All three categories

¹⁰ Lemerle, Guillou, Svoronos, Papachryssanthou, *Lavra*, I, nos. 44, 45, 48, 49, 60, 65. The quotation is from no. 45: "μετὰ πάσης τῆς τούτου περιοχῆς καὶ διακρατήσεως . . . ἐτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτῳ γεωργηθέντων παντοίων καρπῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ εὐρεθέντων ζευγῶν καὶ παροίκων." Cf. Germaine Rouillard, "Un grand bénéficiaire sous Aléxis Comnène: Léon Képhalas," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 30 (1930), 444-450.

¹¹ Lemerle, Guillou, Svoronos, Papachryssanthou, *Lavra*, I, no. 48 (1086): "τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἐρανίζομένην ἅπασαν πρόσοδον." Cf. *infra*, pp. 151-152.

¹² The *praktikon* is found in F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca medii aevi*, VI, 4-15. On the taxes of the *paroikoi*, see N. Svoronos, *Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XI^e et XII^e siècles: le cadastre de Thèbes* (Athens, Paris, 1959), 139-141.

of peasants, however, paid a *choropakton* at the rate of one gold coin per ten *modioi*, this being a rent for "the land each of them possesses."¹³ Svoronos has suggested that part of the land tax paid by the *zeugaratoi* was a tax on production, which had been collected by the state and was now granted to Andronikos Doukas.¹⁴ It thus seems that the *paroikoi* held land under two different conditions: all peasants rented domain land, paying the *choropakton*, but the wealthier peasants, the *zeugaratoi*, paid a greater tax, presumably on their holding. This may suggest that this land originally belonged to the peasant in full ownership, and thus was subject to a state tax. A contemporary document, a decision of the magister Kosmas concerning the *paroikoi*, also refers to land owned by *paroikoi*. Kosmas says that the *paroikoi*, whom he contrasts to peasants holding land by the law of *emphyteusis*, had no right to transfer the land they held to anyone else. If they left, then the landlord, who held the *dominium eminens* over the land, recovered the plot, being only obligated to repay the *paroikos* for any buildings he had erected.¹⁵

In the fourteenth century, there is again a distinction between land owned by the *paroikoi* and land they rented from the monastery. Vineyards are clearly lands which the peasant owns and on which he pays state taxes, although the tax actually goes to the landlord. Some peasants also own land, paying a state tax (*telos*) on it. This land is counted among the peasant's possessions, and is thus differentiated from the land owned by the monastery and which may or may not be divided into plots and rented to

¹³ Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, vi, 15: "ὑπὲρ χωροπάκτου τῆς κατεχόμενης παρ' ἐκάστου αὐτῶν γῆς"; Svoronos, *Cadastré*, 139.

¹⁴ Svoronos, *Cadastré*, 140-141; cf. the opposite opinion of K. V. Hvostova, *Osobennosti agrarnopravovyi otnošeniï v pozdnei Vizantii XIV-XV vv.* (Moscow, 1968), 164-169.

¹⁵ Th. Uspenskij and V. Benešević, *Vazelonskie Akti* (Leningrad, 1927), pp. xxxv-xxxvi; cf. J. and P. Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum*, iv (Athens, 1931), *Peira*, xv, 2.

the peasants. The land owned by the peasant could be alienated.¹⁶

Apart from constituting an agricultural labor force, the *paroikoi* also paid several charges: dues for grazing their animals, for paying local officials, for using the landlord's facilities in the making of flax, and an old judicial fine which became a permanent tax (*ἀήρ*). An eleventh-century document lists a number of charges which the *paroikoi* of Lavra no longer owed to the fisc. These include charges for the maintenance of the army and of fortified places, donations of food and arms for the army, dues for the maintenance of judges, forced sales of mules, donkeys, oxen, and horses. The list also includes services for the construction of bridges, roads, and walls.¹⁷ In the fourteenth century, most *praktika* specify that the *paroikoi* were to perform labor services for a certain number of days in the course of a year, and to offer the landlord a present (*κατίσκιον*) three times a year.¹⁸

The peasant's dependence from the landlord seems to have extended beyond the services specified in the documents. The vague but extensive obligations of the *paroikoi* toward their landlords can be seen in various formulas. In 1104, Alexios I stipulated that the *paroikoi* of Lavra would

¹⁶ The *paroikoi* living in the village Mamitzon held land, as did those of most lay proprietors for whom there is information: L. Petit, *Actes de Chilandar*, I. *Actes grecs, Vizantiiskij Vremennik*, 17 (1911), appendix I, no. 92. For examples of sale of land, see *infra*, pp. 182-185. On "divided" (*"ἐνδιάστικτος"*) and "undivided" (*"ἀδιάστικτος"*) land, see N. Svoronos, "Petite et grande exploitation—sur quelques formes de la vie rurale à Byzance," London, Variorum Reprints, 1973, no. II, pp. 331-333.

¹⁷ Lemerle, Guillou, Svoronos, Papachryssanthou, *Lavra*, I, no. 38 (Chrysobull of Nikephoros III Votaneiates, 1079). Cf. F. Dölger, "Sechs byzantinische Praktika des 14. Jahrhunderts für das Athoskloster Iberon," *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-historische Klasse*, N.F., 28 (1949), 30-31; J. Bompaire, *Actes de Xéropotamou* (Paris, 1964), 146-151; Ostrogorskij, *Féodalité*, 305-310, 360-364; Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, IV, 3.

¹⁸ *Infra*, pp. 181-182.

be "free of all burdens and labor services, whether reasonable or unreasonable, and [would be bound to] work for the monastery only." In the early fourteenth century, Andronikos II and Michael IX confirmed that a certain priest Modenos held his land "freely and without any of the obligations of a *paroikos*"; his son-in-law, the priest Michael Vorkenos, was similarly declared "free of all public taxes and of all burdens of a *paroikos*" ("ἐκτὸς πάσης παροικίας").¹⁹ Some *paroikoi* could be asked to perform any job and any service the landlord might order. Such was the case of the three *paroikoi* whom Gregorios Pakourianos attached to the three hospices he built and of the five *paroikoi* whom Michael Panaretos, bishop of Demetrias, kept for his own personal service after he had donated some land to the monastery of Nea Petra.²⁰ An imperial *prostagma* of the thirteenth century discusses the case of the *paroikoi* of the village Vare, which belonged to the monastery of Lemviotissa. These peasants refused to pay to the monks the public tax (*telos*) which they owed, did not perform the "usual" labor services, and "do not want to do any of the other things which *paroikoi* do."²¹ It must be stressed that the status of a *paroikos* attached to a person as well as to the possessor of a certain piece of land, so that the *paroikos* was under personal as well as under economic subjection to the landlord.²²

The Byzantine *paroikos* then, although he had the right

¹⁹ Lemerle, Guillou, Svoronos, Papachryssanthou, *Lavra*, I, no. 56; F. Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges* (Munich, 1948), no. 15 (1297 or 1312); cf. Petit, *Chilandar*, nos. 14, 15.

²⁰ L. Petit, "Typikon de Grégoire Pakourianos," *Vizantiiskij Vremennik*, XI (1904), appendix I, 48-49; Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, IV, 415-416; Ostrogorskij, *Paysannerie*, 65-66.

²¹ Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, IV, 248-249, 255-256.

²² Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, IV, 2-4. This chrysobull of the Emperor John Doukas Vatatzes (1228), confirms the grant of the village Vare or Mela and its inhabitants to Lemviotissa. Included in the grant are three brothers, the sons of Melou, who were no longer resident in the village. They had moved to Smyrna, but were still considered *paroikoi* of the monastery and bound to perform service to it. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 7 and Lemerle, *Kutlumis*, no. 14 (1328 or 1343).

to own and alienate some forms of property, and although he had a legal personality, was tied to his landlord with very real links of subjection. But were these links hereditary, and if so did they affect only one or all of the *paroikos'* offspring? This question is of particular importance to us, since in the fourteenth century we find that many families of *paroikoi* disappear from the *praktika* from one census to the next; even if a household continues over time, most of the children of the original household cannot be found on the domain. Certainly some of these people died, but were those who emigrated run-away *paroikoi*, or did they have the right to leave the domain?

A distinction must be drawn here between the situation as it existed in the eleventh century and as it developed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the eleventh century, as Ostrogorsky has pointed out, the state or individuals when making grants of *paroikoi* limited strictly the number involved. This was not the case in the fourteenth century, when monasteries were granted land with all the *paroikoi* who lived there and with all the peasants they might attract, provided that they were not inscribed on the *praktika* of others and were not *paroikoi* of the state.²³

In the eleventh century, the grant was limited: the beneficiary was granted a certain number of *paroikoi* with their dues and services, and no more. Thus, in the chrysobull of Konstantinos X Doukas for the monastery of Lavra, there is mention of 100 *paroikoi* who had been granted to the monastery of St. Andreas by Konstantinos VII Porphyrogenitos (913-959). Konstantinos X confirmed this donation, adding the injunction that no one was to reduce the original number of the *paroikoi*.²⁴ A few years later in 1079, Nike-

²³ A few examples of such grants are: Petit, *Chilandar*, no. 30 (1314); Dölger, *Schatzkammer*, no. 4 (1263); W. Regel, E. Kurtz, B. Korablev, *Actes de Philothée, Vizantiiskij Vremennik*, 20 (1913), appendix I, nos. III (1287), IX (1346); cf. Ostrogorskij, *Paysannerie*, 34ff.

²⁴ Lemerle, Guillou, Svoronos, Papachryssanthou, *Lavra*, I, no. 33 (1060).

phoros Votaneiates confirmed this chrysobull, and added to the grant of 100 *paroikoi* a new grant, consisting of an equal number of peasants who, says the Emperor, must be sought among the children and grandchildren of the *paroikoi* who already belonged to the monastery.²⁵ The two chrysobulls together show that the number of the *paroikoi* who are said to have been granted by Konstantinos VII had remained stable for over 200 years. Surely, if the population growth was even slightly above zero, there were descendants of the original *paroikoi* who, by law, did not depend from the monastery. The chrysobull of 1079 expressly stated that the new *paroikoi* granted to the monastery were to be sought among the descendants of the original families, thus showing that these descendants did not automatically belong to the monastery.

While the chrysobull of 1079 contains the clearest indication of the non-heritability of the status of the eleventh-century *paroikos*, similar but less clear indications can be found in other documents. The donations which fixed the number of *paroikoi* and established their productivity by specifying that they were either *zeugaratoi* or *voidatoi* or *aktémones* essentially granted to the landlords the revenues which were derived from the dues, taxes, services, and labor of these *paroikoi*.²⁶ The grant then was one of revenues derived from land and men, not one of people and their descendants and, at most, must have been only partly hereditary.

That the donor considered the *paroikoi* merely as producers of goods, services, and revenue can be seen most strikingly in a chrysobull of Alexios I Komnenos for Lavra. In this document, the Emperor authorized an exchange of men and lands; the monastery of Lavra would surrender to the fisc its possessions in Varzachanion, because they were

²⁵ Lemerle, Guillou, Svoronos, Papachryssanthou, *Lavra*, 1, no. 38 (1079). Cf. the chrysobull of Manuel I in L. Petit, "Le monastère de Notre Dame de Pitié en Macédoine," *Izvestija Russkago Arkheologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinopole*, 6 (1900), 32-33.

²⁶ Ostrogorskij, *Paysannerie*, 27ff.

situated too far from the monastery, and would receive in exchange lands and men belonging to the fisc and yielding equivalent revenues. As the Emperor discussed the exchange, he estimated that one of the mills found in the imperial lands would be exchanged for one *zeugaratos* belonging to Lavra. The exchange was clearly made on the basis of the revenues produced by the peasant and by the mill.²⁷

Further evidence that the grant of *paroikoi* was primarily a grant of revenues, and that the status of *paroikos* was not fully hereditary can be found in the twelfth century. Twelve

²⁷ Lemerle, Guillou, Svoronos, Papachryssanthou, *Lavra*, I, no. 56 (1104). There was more than a pure exchange involved in the document, since Alexios I added a donation of 480 *modioi* and ten *zeugaratoi*. The exchange seems to have been a simple accounting exercise, at least insofar as men were concerned, since Alexios also allowed the monks to relocate in the new lands "all those whom it (the monastery) possessed by donation in Varzachanion." It is possible to discover how the value of a *paroikos* was calculated. Alexios I gave to the monastery nine *zeugaratoi*, three *voidatoi* and two landless men in the village Asmalou, and nine *zeugaratoi*, seven *voidatoi*, and five landless men in the village Lorotomion. Together, the *paroikoi* of the two villages were calculated as being the equivalent of twenty-four *zeugaratoi* and three landless men. The calculation seems to have been based on the amount of land that was assigned to each of these categories of peasants. Thus, if we take the formula given in the Land Treatise of 1232, according to which a *zeugaratos* was given land of forty *modioi*, a *voidatos* was given land of thirty *modioi* and a *pezos* (landless man) land of twenty *modioi*, we see that the eighteen *zeugaratoi*, ten *voidatoi* and seven landless men of the two villages were assigned lands of a total of 1160 *modioi*. Similarly, twenty-four *zeugaratoi* and three landless men would also have a grand total of 1160 *modioi*, so that the equivalences drawn up by Alexios were clearly based on land assigned to the *paroikoi*. The very complicated descriptions of the exchange in the chrysobull can be reduced to the following: the monastery possessed in Varzachanion four *paroikoi* each of whom had two *zeugaria*, and eleven *paroikoi* with one *zeugarion* each. From his own *paroikoi*, Alexios granted to the monastery fourteen *zeugaratoi* and three landless men, in exchange for the ones the monks had had in Varzachanion, and ten *zeugaratoi* as a present. The monks did *not* have to relinquish the *paroikoi* they had in Varzachanion, so that the exchange was fictitious. Alexios also allowed the monks to introduce into their new lands eighty *paroikoi*, since they already possessed that right in the lands they were exchanging.

landless *paroikoi*, who had originally been granted to a monastery, became, in the course of time, *zeugaratoi*, thus increasing the revenues of the monastery and causing treasury officials to dispute the rights of the monastery over these men.²⁸ What is interesting in this case is that the number of peasants (or peasant households) had remained stable (at twelve) for about fifty years, although their lands and their productivity had increased. Must one assume zero population growth for these *paroikoi*, or that only one of the children of each *paroikos* inherited the obligation to remain on the domain as a dependent peasant? Even if we do assume zero population growth, there must, at any given point, have been more than twelve adult males on the domain and even more than twelve adult heads of household, since the life span was not so short that everyone would have died out before their children reached adulthood. Thus, there is a strong possibility that some descendants of the original twelve *paroikoi* did not inherit their parents' dependence from the monastery. This possibility may help explain the apparent diversity in the status of the two brothers named Gounaropoulos, who lived in the thirteenth century.

The family of Gounaropoulos has been studied by several scholars, who have used it to illustrate either that there were free peasants in the late Byzantine Empire or, on the contrary, that there were not.²⁹ The affair is well known. A *praktikon* concerning some possessions of the monastery of Lemviotissa in 1235 shows that in the village Vare there was a family of *paroikoi* headed by the widow Maria Gounaropoulos and including her two young sons, Georgios and Ioannes. A few decades later in 1281, the monastery was confirmed in its possession of nine olive trees and two *modioi* of land, which it had as a deserted holding of its

²⁸ Petit, "Notre Dame de Pitié," pp. 28-29, 34-35; Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, vi, 95 (1099), 104-105 (1145).

²⁹ Charanis, "Social Structure," 126ff; Ostrogorskij, *Paysannerie*, 42-47.

paroikos, Georgios Gounaropoulos. Georgios' brother, Ioannes, however, *was not a paroikos* of Lemviotissa, and therefore his sale of fourteen olive trees and some land to the monastery of Styllou was valid.³⁰ The point which has given rise to dispute concerns the status of Ioannes Gounaropoulos who, although certainly not a *paroikos* of Lemviotissa, may have been either an independent peasant or a *paroikos* of another landlord. However, that point is not of immediate interest here. What is of interest, is the fact that Ioannes Gounaropoulos, whose parents were *paroikoi* of the monastery, did not inherit the tie of dependence to the monastery, whereas his elder brother, Georgios, did.

From the eleventh through the thirteenth century, there are indications that the dependence of a *paroikos* from his landlord was not inherited by all of the *paroikos*' descendants. While these are only indications and not absolute proof, it is instructive to remember that the only unequivocal indication that the condition of *paroikos* affected all of a man's descendants comes from parts of the Empire which were under Western domination. A *praktikon* for the episcopal see of Kephallenia, then governed by Riccardo Orsini (1262), after listing the *paroikoi* of the church, states that "these men listed above must stay and work for the holy episcopal see until their last breath; they, and the children of their loins, children and grandchildren, and . . . all of their offspring."³¹ In the Principality of the Morea, also, all of the children of serfs became serfs.³²

No contemporary document provides a definite answer to

³⁰ Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, iv, 13, 93-94.

³¹ Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, v, 44: "οὔτοι οἱ ἀνωθεν δεδηλωμένοι ὀφείλουσι προσμένειν καὶ ἐκδουλεύειν τῇ ἀγιωτάτῃ ἐπισκοπῇ ἕως ἐσχάτης αὐτῶν ἀναπνοῆς, αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἐξ ὀσφύου αὐτῶν τικτόμενοι γόνοι τε καὶ ἔγγονοι καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, μέχρις ἂν ἐξ αὐτῶν συνίστανται κατὰ γενεὰν κατερχόμενοι πάντες." Cf. Th. S. Tzannetatos, *Τὸ πρακτικὸν τῆς Λατινικῆς Ἐπισκοπῆς Κεφαλληνίας τοῦ 1264 καὶ ἡ ἐπιτομὴ αὐτοῦ* (Athens, 1965).

³² P. W. Topping, *Feudal Institutions as Revealed in the Assizes of Romania, The Law-Code of Frankish Greece* (Philadelphia, 1949), articles 174, 179.

the question of heritability of the status of *paroikos* in fourteenth-century Macedonia. One can, however, reach a reasonable conclusion, on the basis of certain facts. For one thing, grants of dependent peasants were now much more frequent than they had been in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Indeed, it would seem that the vast majority of peasants in Macedonia were dependent peasants. In some cases, they changed masters within a few years. To take but one example, the *paroikoi* granted to Ioannes Margarites in 1342, had belonged until then to Arsenios TzAMPLAKON, Bardales, Masgidas, and an imperial official named Manouel.³³ Such changes of master were more frequent in cases involving grants of small numbers of *paroikoi* and lands to lay landlords. Changes of a master appeared with less frequency in cases where entire villages were granted to a monastery.³⁴

The grants to small lay landlords were, primarily, grants of revenues: the *praktikon* or the chrysobull specified that the landlord received a grant of a certain annual value, and then listed the lands and peasants whose rents and dues made up the stated sum. The old practice of *exisis* was still occasionally followed, so that lands and *paroikoi* in excess of those originally granted might be taken away and given to another landlord.³⁵ It is reasonable to suggest that if, through the demographic process, the number of peasant households and therefore the revenues of the landlord increased, the excess peasants did not necessarily belong to the landlord. There are, however, no extant docu-

³³ P. Lemerle, "Un *praktikon* inédit des archives de Karakala," *Χαριστήριον εις Άναστ. Κ. Όρλάνδον*, I (Athens, 1965), 278-298.

³⁴ It is, perhaps, through such a process that we find *paroikoi* who paid taxes on some of their property to one landlord, and on the rest of their property to another landlord: Lavra, Gournai, 1321, 8; Lavra, Aghia Euphemia, 1321, 64; Lavra, Sarantarea, 1321, 12, 15, 18, 20, 22, 24; Lavra, Karvaioi, 1321, 5.

³⁵ Michael Saventzes was given 300 *modioi* of land which had been taken away from Michael Keroulas, because they were in excess of Keroulas' grant (*κατὰ λόγον περισσείας*): unpublished *praktikon* of Xenophon, no. 17 (1321).

ments showing that if, for example, a certain *paroikos* had two grown sons, each of whom had his own household, one of the sons was taken away and granted to another landlord.

On monastic estates, the situation was somewhat different. Many monasteries received entire villages, with their lands and inhabitants, not simply a few *paroikoi* and a few parcels of land. Furthermore, the terms of the grant were different. It was not primarily a grant of certain revenues, but rather a grant of lands and men. The chrysobull of Michael VIII donating lands and *paroikoi* to Esphigmenou did not even mention the total annual revenue being granted; as for the *praktika*, they do not start by establishing the value of the possessions, but rather they simply describe the peasant households with their possessions and taxes, then list the supplementary charges and the lands attached to each village, and only at the end of the *praktikon* are all the revenues added up, and the grand total registered.³⁶ Since the state ceded all rights to the monastic landlord, it is unlikely that it reserved the right to take away from the monastery any *paroikoi* who were in excess of those granted originally, unless it was found that some of these peasants belonged lawfully to another landlord. It is then likely that in granting a village to a monastery the state assumed that all the descendants of the inhabitants would be *paroikoi* of the monastery. Indeed, although there was considerable emigration from monastic domains in the first half of the fourteenth century, still a remarkable number of peasants in 1338–1341 were descendants of the *paroikoi* who had been listed in the census of 1300–1301.³⁷ We frequently find more than one descendant of a household occupying separate households in the same village. The partible inheritance system which predominated is another indication that the children of a *paroikos* were expected to stay on the domain. It is unlikely that the monastic landlords would have tolerated the loss of revenues which would result from

³⁶ For example, see Lefort, *Esphigménou*, no. 6.

³⁷ Cf. *infra*, chapter vi, pp. 247–253.

THE PEASANT AND HIS HOLDING

the combination of partible inheritance and freedom for some of a peasant's descendants to leave the domain.

While it is thus probable that in fourteenth-century Macedonia all of the descendants of a *paroikos* were expected to remain on the domain or under dependence, the fact was nowhere formally stated, nor was it unchallenged in practice.³⁸ It was not formally stated because relations of man to man and man to land in the countryside were still in a state of flux, probably differing according to region, and certainly differing according to social class so that even among landlords there was differentiation. No doubt, in time, for Byzantine Macedonia, there would have been a clear statement concerning inheritance of dependence just as there was in those areas of the old Empire where Western feudal customs had been transplanted.

THE PEASANT HOLDING AND THE TELOS

The dependent peasant is listed in the *praktika* along with his property, which is collectively described as his *stasis*. In general terms, the *stasis* consists of three different things: animals, land, and agricultural capital. The animals may be oxen, cows, sheep, goats, pigs, and occasionally a horse, mule, or donkey. In some villages, the peasants owned beehives. Land consisted primarily of gardens and vineyards in which fruit trees were found. As for agricultural capital, this is a loose term which includes mills and boats. Houses too were sometimes mentioned in the *praktika*. Table v-1 gives the means for the major categories of prop-

³⁸ There are several cases of *paroikoi* who resided outside the domain of the monastery from which they depended, but who were mentioned in the *praktika*. Apart from the three sons of Melou, from the village Mela, who are mentioned as *paroikoi* of Lemvotissa even though they resided in Smyrna (Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, vi, 3-4), there are the examples of several *paroikoi* of Lavra, who were registered in the list of the villages Neochorion and Krya Pegadia, but who resided in Thessaloniki, Aghios Ioannes, Neakitou, Epano Antigonía, and elsewhere: Lavra, Neochorion, 1321, 1, 5, 12, 14; Lavra, Krya Pegadia, 1321, 8, 24. Cf. Lavra, Sarantarea, 1321, 5.

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erty, in the entire sample of monastic peasants. Not all households included all of these categories. Indeed, there were some peasants who owned nothing at all; most commonly (but not always) these peasants were designated as *eleutheroi* (table v-2) and sometimes they were called *aktemones* (propertyless).³⁹ The property of many house-

TABLE V-2
Average Property of *Eleutheroi*

<i>Apographe</i>	No. of Households	<i>Zeugaria</i>	Vineyards in <i>Modioi</i>	Gardens in <i>Modioi</i>
1300 - 1301	38	0.047	0.738	0
1320 - 1321	26	0.020	0	0

holds consisted of a small piece of vineyard or garden, and two or three pigs; only the richest families possessed oxen.

The various property elements of the *stasis* could be alienated and inherited by the peasant and his descendants, and in this sense he had full rights of ownership over them. He also paid on them a state tax included in the *telos*, that is, in the sum which the peasant had originally owed to the government and now paid to the landlord. Presumably, the peasant owed his landlord nothing more than the *telos*, insofar as this property was concerned: the landlord's right of appropriation of surplus labor was limited to the *telos*, which was not very high. Thus, this category of possessions was held under very different terms than property which the peasant might rent from the landlord, on which the peasant had no ownership rights, and from which the landlord

³⁹ The fact that the *eleutheroi* were poor peasants who were not inscribed on the tax-lists of the state or of individuals, has, by now, been well established. Cf. Ostrogorski, *Féodalité*, 330ff. The poverty of the *eleutheroi* is attested first by the fact that they are seen in the *praktika* to own much less property than any other group of peasant (see table v-2), but also from statements in the sources of the period: "κατάπτωχοι τινὲς προσκαθήμενοι . . . ξένοι ὄντες καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ ἀνεπίγνωστοὶ καὶ μὴ ἔν τισὶ πρακτικοῖς καταγεγραμμένοι." : Petit, *Chilandar*, No. 20 (1320).

appropriated a large part of the surplus. In this connection, it becomes essential to determine whether the peasant's *stasis* included arable land or not. If a large number of peasants owned arable, on which they paid the *telos* and no more, then the Byzantine countryside assumes a very different aspect than if the peasant merely leased the landlord's arable land.

Unfortunately, this question is not easy to resolve for the majority of peasant holdings. The two important terms here are *ge* (arable land) and *zeugarion* (which may mean a pair of oxen and/or land). While *ge* clearly means arable land, it does not appear in the list of peasant possessions in most of the monastic *praktika*. The major exceptions are the *praktika* for the monastery of Esphigmenou, the Slavic *praktikon* of Chilandar, and the *praktikon* of the village Mamitzon; in these, as in some extant lay *praktika*, the list of possessions of a considerable number of peasants includes *ge*. Virtually all *praktika* include *zeugaria* in the peasants' *staseis*. If this term is taken to mean merely a pair of oxen, then it follows that the vast majority of monastic *paroikoi* owned no arable; on the contrary, if the term is taken to mean both oxen and the land that may be cultivated with them, then a considerable number of peasants did own arable land.

Until the thirteenth century, peasants were described as *zeugaratoi*, *voidatoi*, and *pezoi*. These terms differentiated them through their ownership or not of oxen: a *zeugaratos* had two oxen, a *voidatos* one, and a *pezos* none. But the terms also described the peasant by reference to the land he held. A *zeugaratos* held more land than a *voidatos* or a *pezos*, and paid more taxes on it.⁴⁰ By the early fourteenth century, these designations had lapsed. Instead, we find, at the beginning of the list of the property of a household, the words *zeugarion* or *voidion*. A peasant household may own

⁴⁰ Uspenskij, "Vizantiiskie zemlemery," 307-308; E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologische Quellen* (Düsseldorf, 1970), 60; Svoronos, *Cadastre*, 139-141; Lefort, "Fiscalité médiévale," 341-343.

a *voidion*, a *zeugarion*, one and a half *zeugarion*, rarely two or more *zeugaria*, and often none at all. This listing is followed by others of draft animals. It is assumed by modern researchers that *voidion* or *zeugarion* refer to one or two oxen. This assumption rests on the following observations. First, that *zeugaria* head the list of draft animals, whereas other pieces of land (gardens and vineyards) follow. Second, there are some *praktika* which include *ge*—indisputably, arable land—in the peasant property, and this listing is distinct from that of *zeugaria*. There is also a high correlation between possession of *zeugaria* and possession of cows, which would be natural if the term designated oxen. A further reason which might be adduced, although it has not been stated, is that lists of deserted holdings (*exaleimmatika stasia*) include vineyards and land (designated as *ge* or *chorafia*), but never *zeugaria*. This would indicate that the term was used only when animals were actually present and used for cultivation, and not simply to refer to a unit of land.⁴¹

Thus, and for these reasons, it has seemed clear to modern researchers that the terms *voidion* and *zeugarion* are used in the *praktika* to refer merely to animals. Indeed, Lefort has stated that fiscal practices changed in the fourteenth century, and the fisc, instead of taxing a holding (as it used to do, when designating peasants as *zeugaratoi*), now taxed the oxen and the other property of the peasant.

The question, however, is not so easily settled. There is a major inconsistency in the use of the term *zeugarion*. For when this term appears in documents contemporary to the *praktika* it very often refers not to oxen but to a piece of

⁴¹ For examples of the distinct listings of *zeugaria* and *ge*, see Petit, *Chilandar*, no. 92, and Lefort, *Esphigménou*, nos. 8, 14, 15. For examples of *exaleimmatika stasia*, see Petit, *Chilandar*, no. 40; Regel, Kurtz, Korablev, *Zographou*, no. xv. Hvostova, *Osobennosti*, 263ff., takes *zeugarion* to mean only oxen, and she has placed *zeugaria*, horses, and donkeys in a single variable. Cf. Lefort, "Fiscalité médiévale," 341-343. In some of the discussion that follows, I have used the term *voidion* to mean, interchangeably, a *voidion* and half a *zeugarion*: see, for example, table v-3.

land, whose average surface was 163 *modioi*.⁴² Either the terms have different meanings when they appear in different documents, or one must revise the current idea that a *zeugarion*, when it appears in a *praktikon*, refers simply to oxen.

It is also not certain that there is a substantive difference in the description of peasant holdings before and after the thirteenth century. There is a late eleventh century document in which the term *zeugarion* is used in exactly the same manner as in a fourteenth-century *praktikon*. This document is a *praktikon* for Andronikos Doukas, which includes lists of peasant households; we find *voidia*, *zeugaria*, horses, donkeys, and pigs, with no mention of arable land or even of vineyards. At the end of the description of the households of each settlement, however, the peasants are described as *zeugaratoi*, *voidatoi*, or *aktemones*, the last term having the same significance as *pezoi*.⁴³ The only difference between these lists and those in fourteenth-century *praktika* is that here the peasants, having been described as owning a *zeugarion* or a *voidion*, are then described again as *zeugaratoi* or *voidatoi*.

Because of these inconsistencies in the use of the term *zeugarion* both in the documentation of the fourteenth century and in earlier *praktika*, it cannot be stated conclusively that the term did not designate land as well as oxen when it appeared in the list of peasant possessions in the fourteenth century. The evidence on either side of this question is far from conclusive. I am inclined to the view that the peasant who owned a *zeugarion* (oxen) also had heredi-

⁴² From several possible examples, I cite Regel, Kurtz, Korablev, *Zographou*, no. x (1286): "γῆν ζευγαρίων τεσσάρων," Lefort, *Esphigmenou*, no. 18 (1330), Bompaire, *Xéropotamou*, no. 28 (1407), Oikonomidès, *Dionysiou*, nos. 18, 20. For the various values of this unstable unit of measurement, see Schilbach, *Metrologie*, 67-70. For an example of *zeugarion* meaning oxen, see Regel, Kurtz, Korablev, *Zographou*, no. xiv. On the term *zeugarion* meaning both land and oxen, see Charanis, "Social Structure," 143-144.

⁴³ Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, vi, 7-15. Cf. Svoronos, *Cadastre*, 139-141.

tary rights of *possession* upon a piece of land, and that these rights are subsumed under the heading *zeugarion*. Whether, however, he had rights of *ownership* on such land or whether the plot belonged to the landlord is an open question. It is possible that the subjection of a peasant consisted in part of the transfer of the right of ownership of such land from him to the landlord. His original property rights may have survived in a vestigial form, so that the *zeugarion*—designating not only oxen but also a piece of land as well—still appears on his property list, and he still pays a small tax on it. The primary economic relationship between landlord and peasant with regard to this piece of property was expressed not by the tax but by other arrangements, such as a share of the crop; this would explain the fact that *zeugaria*, if taken to mean land, were taxed at a much lower rate than *ge*.⁴⁴ This, however, is only conjecture at this point.

It should be mentioned that the distribution of *zeugaria* among the various villages was unequal. There is quite a strong correlation between peasant ownership of *zeugaria* and the amount of land which was included in the village territory. A simple correlation, using the data presented in table II-2 yields a correlation coefficient of 0.45. This means that villages which possessed large quantities of land tended to have a peasantry which owned relatively many *zeugaria*.

The population of monastic *paroikoi* was economically differentiated, as some peasants had a relatively large share of the most important kinds of property, while others had very little or none at all. Table V-3 and graph V-1 show the distribution of the most important kinds of property among the *paroikoi* of Lavra and Iveron in the village Gomatou. A comparison of the Gini indices will show that the distribution of wealth among the *paroikoi* of the two monasteries was significantly different in one instance, and less

⁴⁴ Lefort, "Fiscalité médiévale," 329-340.

TABLE V-3
Vineyards and *Voidia* in Gomatou

<i>Distribution of Vineyards, Gomatou</i>											
<u>1300-1301</u>											
<i>Modioi</i>	0	0.3-0.5	0.7-0.9	1	1.2-1.5	1.7-2	2.2-2.5				
Number of Households	31	5	7	6	9	15	10				
<i>Modioi</i>	3	3.2-3.5	4-4.5	4.8-5	5.2-5.5	6	7	8-8.3			
Number of Households	9	4	12	6	2	6	1	2			
<u>1321</u>											
<i>Modioi</i>	0	0.1-0.5	0.6-0.9	1	1.2-1.5	1.6-2	2.1-2.5				
Number of Households	18	24	18	17	15	20	7				
<i>Modioi</i>	2.7-3	3.1-3.5	3.7-4	4.1-4.5	4.7-5	5.4-5.5	6	7-7.5	8.9		
Number of Households	7	4	4	3	2	2	1	3	1		
<u>1341</u>											
<i>Modioi</i>	0	0.5-0.7	1	1.5	2	2.5	3	3.5	3.7-4	5	7.5
Number of Households	5	3	2	1	7	1	4	1	6	1	1
<i>Distribution of Voidia,^a Gomatou</i>											
<u>1300-1301</u>					<u>1320-1321</u>			<u>1341</u>			
<i>Voidia</i>	0	1	2	4	0	1	2	0	1	2	
Number of Households	81	18	24	3	97	32	20	27	4	1	

Gini = 0.724

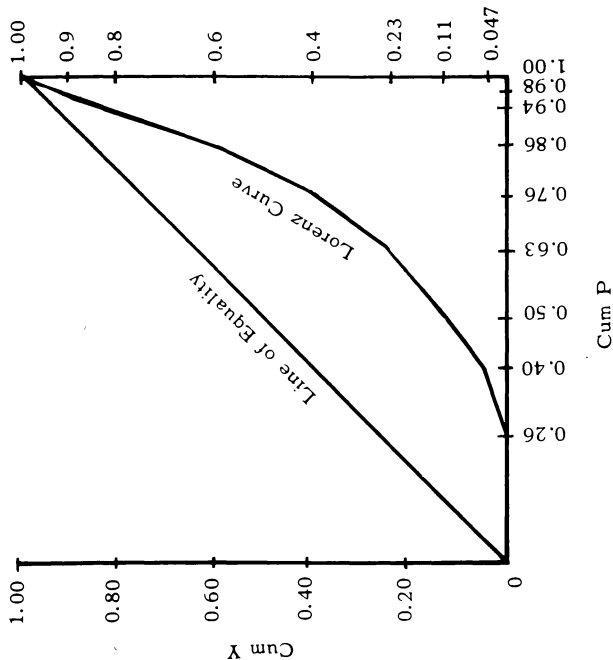
^aOne *voidion* = One half a *zeugarion*.

GRAPH V-1

Vineyards and *Voidia* in the Village of Gomatou: Lorenz Curves

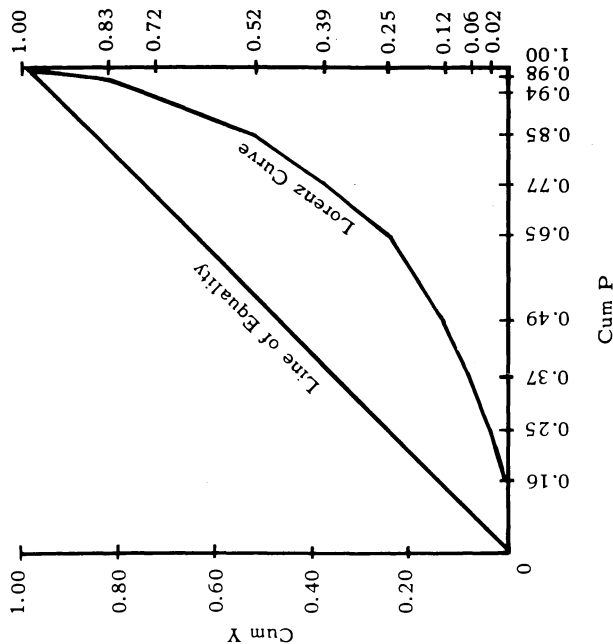
a. Vineyards

1. Lavra, 1300



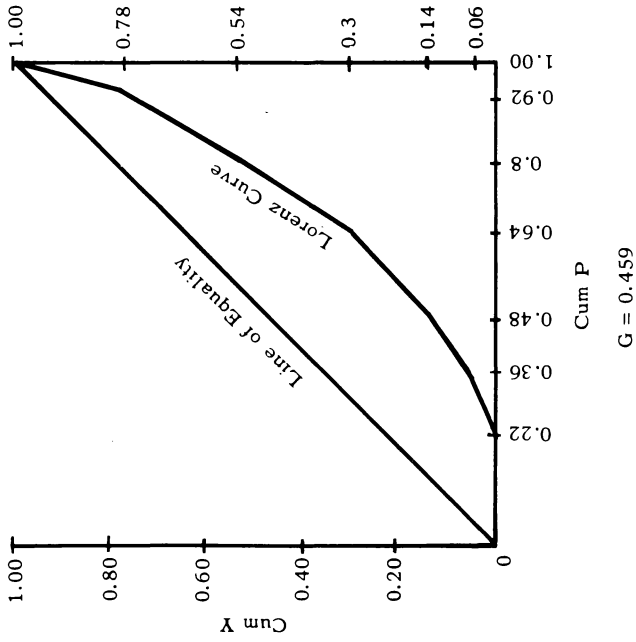
G = 0.545

2. Lavra, 1321

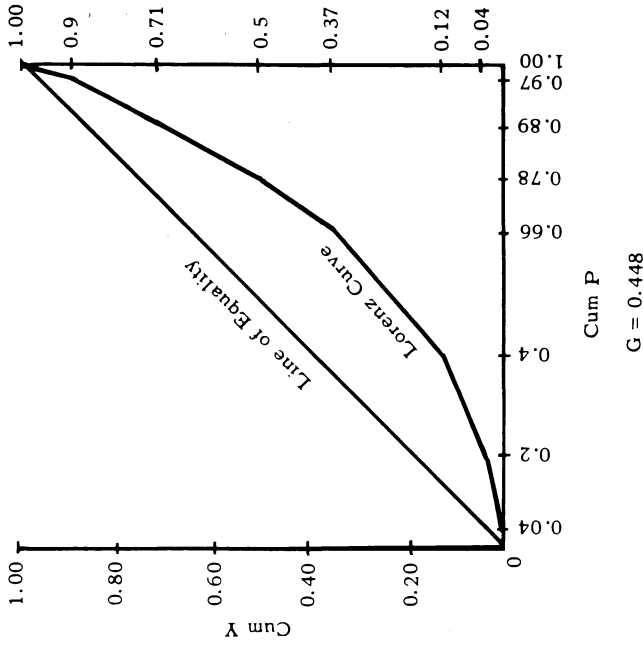


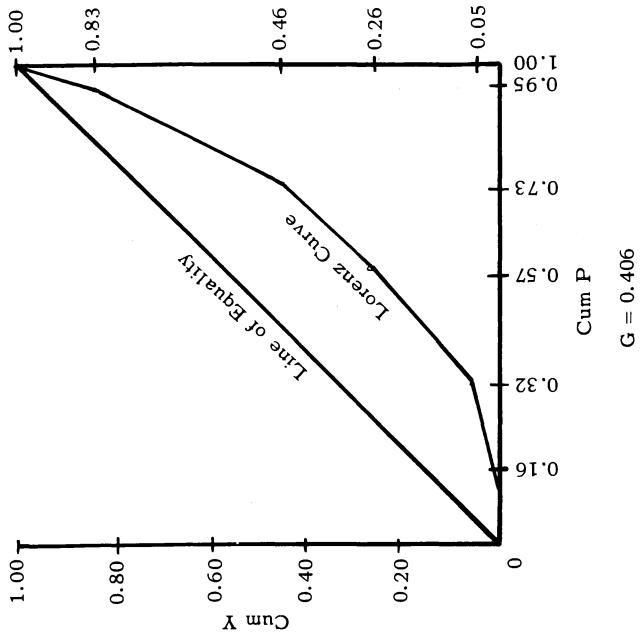
G = 0.524

3. Iveron, 1301



4. Iveron, 1320

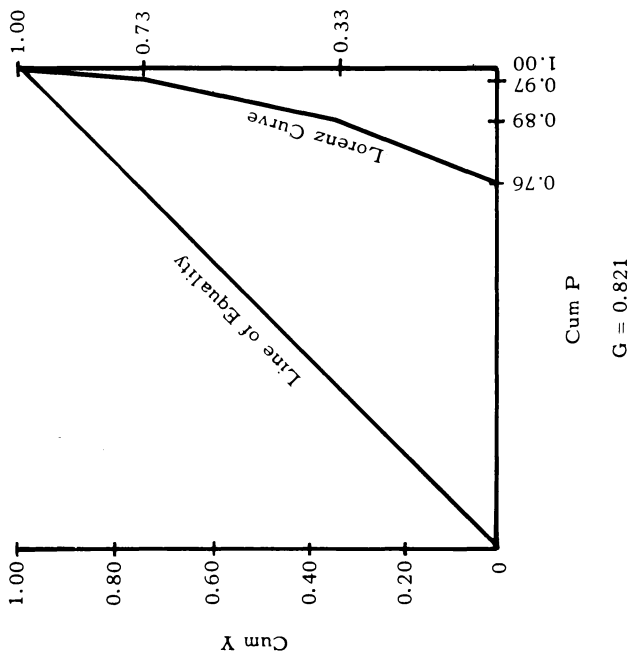




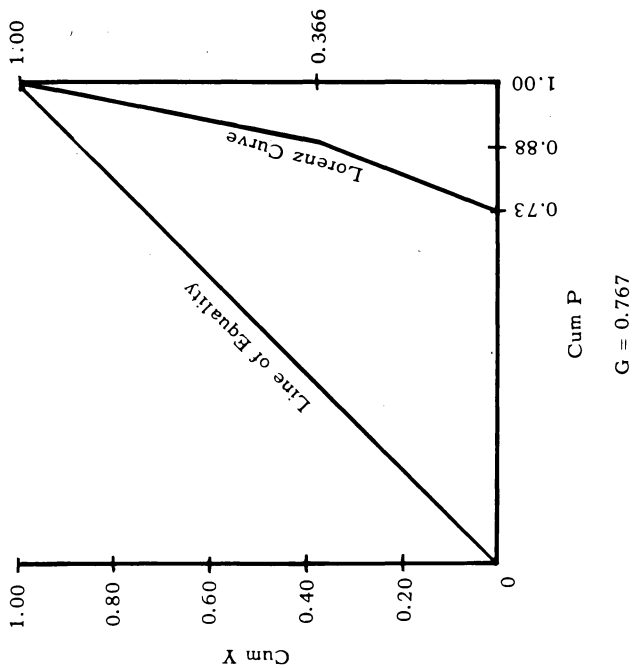
The Lorenz curve shows how far the distribution of wealth deviates from the diagonal line of equality. If the wealth were equally distributed, 10 percent of the population would own 10 percent of the wealth, 50 percent of the population would own 50 percent of the wealth, and so on. Perfectly equal distributions of wealth, then, would lie along the diagonal line of equality. The more unequal a distribution is, the further the Lorenz curve lies below the line of equality. The Gini Index measures the inequality which is visually depicted by the Lorenz curve; it is, in fact, twice the area of inequality, and ranges from 0 for perfect equality to 1.0 for total inequality.

b. *Voidia*

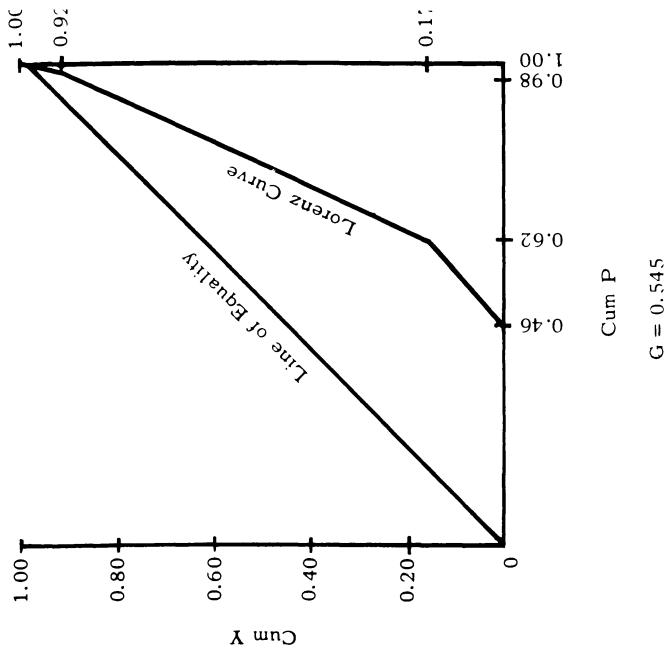
1. Lavra, 1300



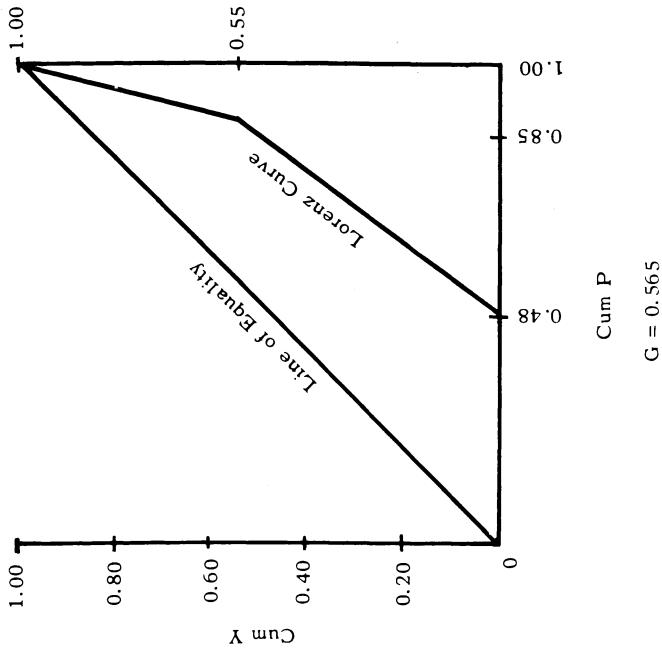
2. Lavra, 1321



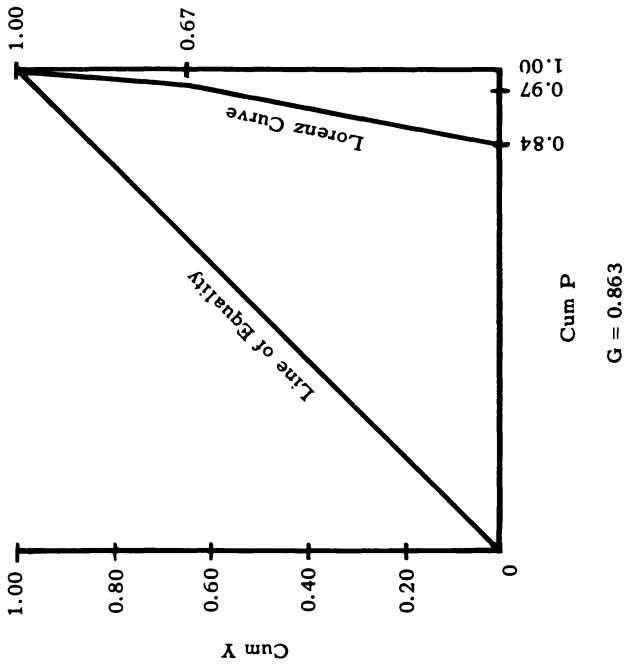
3. Iveron, 1301



4. Iveron, 1320



5. Iveron, 1341



so in another. Thus, gardens were very unequally distributed among the *paroikoi* of Lavra in 1300 and 1321 ($G = 0.922$, $G = 0.798$), and among the *paroikoi* of Iveron in 1301 ($G = 0.829$). In 1320 and 1341, however, the distribution of gardens among the *paroikoi* of Iveron was much closer to equality ($G = 0.429$ and 0.339). These differences cannot be interpreted as signifying a change in the social or economic position of the *paroikoi* of Iveron between 1301 and 1320. Rather, they are probably due to different norms applied by the censor, norms which may have led him to disregard small gardens in 1300 or to include them with the vineyards as *ἀμπελοπερίβολα*; the same norms were probably applied to the property of the *paroikoi* of Lavra in 1300 and 1321. This assumption explains the unexpected inequality in the distribution of gardens. One would have thought *a priori* that most peasants would own small gardens, which can be scratched out of small and not necessarily very fertile pieces of land. The distribution of vineyards, which ranges from a Gini of 0.406 to a Gini of 0.545 supports this *a priori* assumption, as does the distribution of gardens among the *paroikoi* of Iveron in 1320 and 1341. I suggest that the low Gini indices of these two dates are due to a more careful assessment, or to a stricter differentiation between gardens and vineyards.⁴⁵

On the other hand, the difference in the distribution of *voidia* (or *zeugaria*) among the peasants of Lavra and Iveron cannot be due to such clerical discrepancies. *Zeugaria* (whether the term is taken to mean merely oxen or both animals and arable) were important possessions and could not be overlooked, nor could they possibly be listed under any other rubric. Although *zeugaria* were distributed with a similar high degree of inequality among the peasants of Lavra in 1300 and 1321 and the peasants of Iveron in 1341, they were much more equally distributed among the

⁴⁵ The gardens owned by the peasants are to be distinguished from large market gardens such as that described in a fifteenth-century document: Dölger, *Schatzkammer*, no. 102.

peasants of Iveron in 1301 and 1320. There are two interesting phenomena here. First, the fact that only very few of the *paroikoi* of Lavra owned *zeugaria*. In 1300, there is information for 76 households of *paroikoi*; of these, only 23.5 percent owned any *voidia* at all. In 1321, of the 103 households, only 28 percent (29 households) owned any *voidia*. Similarly, among the peasants of Iveron in 1341 only 16 percent owned *voidia*. Stated differently, this means that the 6 *voidia* in the domain were held by 5 of the 32 households of *paroikoi*. Ownership of this most important unit of property then was concentrated in the hands of a few peasants.⁴⁶

Secondly it can be seen that the absolute number of *voidia* as well as the mean and the distribution may change over time. Among the *paroikoi* of Lavra, the number of *voidia* remained relatively stable with a mean of 0.39 in 1300 and 0.4 in 1321. Among the *paroikoi* of Iveron, however, there is greater fluctuation. In 1301, 50 households possessed 48 *voidia* (mean: 0.96), with a relatively equal distribution (54 percent of the households owned 100 percent of the *voidia*: $G = 0.545$). In 1320, both the absolute number of *voidia* and their relative proportion to population had changed, since 46 households owned 31 *voidia* (mean = 0.67); the distribution remained almost unchanged with 52 percent of the households in possession of 100 percent of the *voidia*. By 1341, there were only 6 *voidia* in 32 households, giving a mean of 0.19; the distribution had become much less equal.

The type of property which was most highly concentrated in a few hands was sheep and goats. Here the Gini indices are extremely high, ranging from 0.869 to 0.97, and remain

⁴⁶ According to Pachymeres, II, 484, the Catalans, in their incursions, killed many animals, including oxen. Although Gomatou lay within the sphere of Catalan attacks (*infra*, chapters VI, VII), there is no great discrepancy between the average number of *zeugaria* in 1300-1301 and in 1320-1321. This might be a slight indication that we are correct in our view that *zeugarion* does not indicate merely oxen but land as well.

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virtually unchanged over time. It also made no difference whether the *paroikos* belonged to Lavra or to Iveron. In both cases, he was not likely to own sheep and goats, since very few households did. While the distribution of sheep and goats remained highly unequal from 1300–1301 to 1341, the size of flocks declined precipitously. In 1300–1301, the entire village of Gomatou possessed 1,131 sheep and goats with a mean of 9; in 1320–1321, the number of sheep and goats declined to 612, and the mean to 4, while in 1341 there were merely 10 sheep and goats and the mean was 0.3. The largest flock in 1300–1301 was composed of 300 animals; in 1321, the largest flock had only 70 animals, while in 1341 one household owned the only flock, consisting of 10 animals. The effects of the Catalan campaign and of the civil wars of the 1320's are clearly evident in this dramatic decline in the number of sheep and goats.

The smallest reported flock consisted of five animals, which raises the possibility that if a household owned a single ewe or two or three goats, these did not appear on the *praktikon*, in the same way that small animals like hens and chickens went unreported. As for the highly skewed distribution of sheep and goats, it is a phenomenon which is characteristic of modern Greek peasant society as well. To keep large flocks of these animals, the peasant must have a certain amount of capital, and dispose of extra labor or have the ability to hire it. Poor peasants could dispose of little extra labor, since most of their resources were needed for tilling the land; they might have a goat or two, but could afford no more than that.⁴⁷

The distribution of vineyards was consistently much more equal than that of animals or gardens; it changed little over time, or between the two monasteries. Between 74 percent and 96 percent of the population had a piece of land planted with vines; most of the peasants had very

⁴⁷ For a similar example of unequal distribution of animals in modern Greece, see John Kennedy Campbell, *Honour, Family and Patronage* (Oxford, 1964), 298–300, and *passim*.

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small plots, often lying in different parcels around the village. Vineyards were acquired by purchase, by inheritance, or through dowry. Sometimes, the monastery gave a vineyard to a peasant; at other times, the *praktikon* specifically stated that the *paroikos* had planted vineyards on lands that had previously been uncultivated.⁴⁸ The relatively equal distribution of vineyards among a population which in other respects was economically unequal reflects a basic fact of peasant life.

In a class society, where much of the surplus is appropriated by the state or by landlords, the producer, the peasant, cannot often afford to own arable land. In order to cultivate it, pay taxes or other dues on it, and survive, he has to have not only his labor but also agricultural capital of one form or another, primarily in the form of oxen and agricultural implements (a plough, sickles, spades). He also has to be able to reserve enough seed corn so that he can cultivate his land every season, and he must have enough grain to feed his cattle over the winter. Very few peasants could accumulate that kind of capital. On the other hand, vineyards need considerable care and labor in particular seasons, but virtually no capital. A piece of land can be made productive easily, with as little as a spade. Even a poor man can afford to have a small plot of vineyard. The sources show that the Byzantine monastic *paroikoi* cleared land and planted it with vines. Apart from the *praktika* which list vineyards that peasants owned because they had cleared and planted the land ("ἐξ ἀναστήματος"), there are other indications to the same effect. Thus, in 1300, the assessor Apelmené, who had been ordered to examine the properties of the monastery of Xenophon, found that the inhabitants of a village named Avramiton had planted vines on land which by law belonged to the monastery. The assessor found that these people would be much harmed if the products of their labor were to be taken away from

⁴⁸ This is what is meant by the term ἐξ ἀναστήματος which is found on several occasions. See, for example, Lavra, Gomatou, 1321, 33.

them, and so he gave the monastery a different piece of land in the same location, that is, in Stomion.⁴⁹ The villagers, then, did not merely place under cultivation land which was theirs; they also cleared and planted land which might belong to others, but which lay uncultivated. In the instance cited above, the fact that the land had been planted was sufficient to make it remain in the possession of the people who had planted it.

The grant of *paroikoi* to the monasteries involved also the transfer of the tax paid by the *paroikoi* (the *telos*), from the state to the monastic landlord. The tax paid by each peasant household is listed in the *praktika*, after the household members and their property. At the end of the listings for each village, the tax of all the households is added up, and the total is the *oikoumenon*. Essentially, the *telos* was a property tax. Eight variables, that is, *voidia*, vineyards, fruit trees, sheep and goats, cows, beehives, and household size explain between 83 percent and 81 percent of the variance in the taxes levied on the households that belonged to Iveron in the years 1300 and 1320; they explain 80 percent, 88.5 percent, and 86.6 percent of the variance in the taxes of Gomatou in the years 1300-1301, 1320-1321, and 1341 respectively (see tables v-4, v-5, v-6, v-7).⁵⁰ The relative importance of the several variables in explaining variance in the values of the *telos* differs from

⁴⁹ Petit, *Xénophon*, no. II, p. 30. According to the Assizes of Romania, if a serf planted a vine on the land of a man who was not his overlord, the lord of the land "has half of the vine"; when the vine is destroyed, the lord of the land reassumes possession of his land: Topping, *Feudal Institutions*, art. 184. In this case also, the importance of labor is made clear, as is the distinction between usufruct and ownership.

⁵⁰ The technique used here is multiple regression analysis, which allows us to see how much of the variance in the values of the dependent variable (here, the tax) is explained by the variance in the values of a number of other variables. The strength of the association is measured by r^2 , which ranges from 0 to 1. The correlation coefficient, multiple r , ranges from -1 to +1. For our data, a correlation coefficient which is over 0.4 suggests quite a strong correlation. For a detailed study of the *telos*, see Lefort, "Fiscalité médiévale."

TABLE V-4

Multiple Regression Analysis of the *Telos*, All Monastic Households,
Theme of Thessaloniki

<i>Apographe</i>	Mean	Multiple R	R ²	F Statistic	Degrees of Freedom	Number
1300 - 1301	0.998	0.922	0.849	308.92	7	392
1320 - 1321	1.185	0.924	0.853	757.78	7	923
1338 - 1341	0.705	0.869	0.756	69.47	7	165

TABLE V-5

Multiple Regression Analysis of the *Telos*, Domains of Iveron,
Theme of Thessaloniki

<i>Apographe</i>	Mean	Multiple R	R ²	F Statistic	Degrees of Freedom	Number
a. <i>All Households</i>						
1301	1.025	0.913	0.833	105.33	7	156
1320	0.98	0.898	0.806	75.99	7	136
1341	0.895	0.809	0.655	27.65	7	110
b. <i>Households Paying Less Than Average Telos</i>						
1301	0.646	0.797	0.635	30.44	6	112
1320	0.477	0.669	0.448	7.52	7	73
1341	0.464	0.65	0.423	8.42	4	51
c. <i>Households Paying More Than Average Telos</i>						
1301	1.989	0.858	0.737	14.38	7	44
1320	1.563	0.788	0.621	12.88	7	63
1341	1.268	0.734	0.539	10.14	6	59

TABLE V-6
Multiple Regression Analysis of the *Telos*, Domains of Lavra,
Theme of Thessaloniki

<i>Apographe</i>	Mean	Multiple R	R ²	F Statistic	Degrees of Freedom	Number
1300	0.989	0.939	0.882	227.357	7	221
1321	1.219	0.944	0.891	811.429	7	703
a. <i>All Households</i>						
1300	0.527	0.77	0.594	31.769	7	160
1321	0.5597	0.737	0.543	69.653	7	418
b. <i>Households Paying Less Than Average Telos</i>						
1300	2.2	0.936	0.876	53.52	7	61
1321	2.187	0.897	0.805	163.76	7	285
c. <i>Households Paying More Than Average Telos</i>						

TABLE V-7
Multiple Regression Analysis of the Telos, Village Gomatou

Apographe	Mean	Multiple R	R ²	F Statistic	Degrees of Freedom	Number
<i>a. All Households</i>						
1300 - 1301	0.977	0.941	0.885	127	7	124
1320 - 1321	1.082	0.893	0.798	73.75	7	139
1341	1.01	0.931	0.866	19.413	7	29
<i>b. Households Paying Less Than Average Telos</i>						
1300 - 1301	0.546	0.757	0.574	16.343	7	93
1320 - 1321	0.602	0.744	0.554	14.201	7	88
1341	0.772	0.784	0.615	3.193	7	22
<i>c. Households Paying More Than Average Telos</i>						
1300 - 1301	2.268	0.942	0.887	25.803	7	31
1320 - 1321	1.975	0.731	0.534	6.218	8	46
1341	Only 7 cases, not significant.					

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year to year and village to village; usually, *voidia* and vineyards have a high correlation coefficient with the *telos*. The size of the household does not have a very important explanatory value for the tax, since it at best explains 18 percent of the variance (Lavra, 1300 and 1321) and at worst has absolutely no significance (Gomatou, 1341).

In order to see whether the tax was levied on the same base for all the households, I divided the population into those who paid more than the average tax and those who paid less than the average, the average fluctuating slightly around one *hyperpyron*. The results are rather interesting. In the case of the most heavily taxed households, the eight variables mentioned above explain a large proportion of the variance in the *telos*. But in the households which paid less than the average, the property variables and household size only explain between 80 percent and 65 percent of the variance in the domains of Iveron, and between 61 percent and 57 percent of the variance in the village of Gomatou. The difference is even more striking in the domains of Lavra, is significant, and suggests that the base of taxation was not the same for all households. In the households paying a relatively small tax, property and household size were not the only determinants of the tax; there was a floor in the system of taxation, so that those who had a small household and no property still paid a tax. This can be observed in a number of *praktika* which include propertyless but tax-paying peasants and even occasionally households consisting of only one person with no property, but still paying a tax.⁵¹ The *telos* paid by peasants with little or no property must be the equivalent of the *kapnikon*, that is, a tax on the household regardless of property.⁵² In general terms,

⁵¹ Petit, *Xénophon*, no. vii (1320): all the inhabitants of Neakitou have no property but pay a tax. There are, on the other hand, several cases of property-less peasants who pay no tax at all: see, for example, Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 61, 72, 80; 1321, 83, 90. The inhabitants of the domain of Xenophon in Stomion in 1300 paid no taxes and had no property. They were explicitly described as wage-laborers: *προσκαθήμενοι μισθαρνοί*: Petit, *Xénophon*, no. iii, p. 33.

⁵² Svoronos, *Cadastre*, 139-140.

however, the *telos* is a good indication of the relative wealth of the *paroikoi*, and can be used to differentiate between poorer and wealthier peasants.

The *telos* was paid to the landlord twice a year, in March and September.⁵³ The *paroikoi* paid supplementary taxes which could be very high; a tax called *opheleia* was calculated at 10 percent of the totality of the household tax. They also paid a tax which had originated as a fine (*aer*) and a tithe on pigs, bees, and sheep.⁵⁴ If the *paroikoi* worked outside the domain, they had to pay to the landlord a certain tax called *zeugaratikion*.⁵⁵ These supplementary taxes had once belonged to the state which now granted them to various landlords. Indeed, occasionally a landlord was granted *only* some of the supplementary taxes, while the household tax remained in the hands of either the state or another landlord. Thus, a chrysobull of Stephen Dušan gave to the monastery of Philotheou not only certain *paroikoi* and their taxes but also the right to collect the *zeugaratikion* from all the inhabitants at a certain place called Tzainou.⁵⁶

Finally, the *paroikoi* were bound to do labor services for the landlord. The *praktika* do not always specify the number of days of labor which were due. Local custom seems to be of some importance here, for the *praktikon* often says that the peasants owed "the customary number of days of labor services." The most usual number is twelve full days of labor, but sometimes the peasants owed twenty-four or even fifty-two days.⁵⁷ They also owed a small gift con-

⁵³ Lefort, *Esphigménou*, nos. 7 (p. 65), 14 (p. 109).

⁵⁴ Bompaire, *Xéropotamou*, pp. 146-147, 151; cf. Lefort, *Esphigménou*, no. 14, p. 101.

⁵⁵ Lefort, *Esphigménou*, no. 22; Regel, Kurtz, Korablev, *Zographou*, no. 33; Regel, Kurtz, Korablev, *Philothée*, no. ix.

⁵⁶ Regel, Kurtz, Korablev, *Philothée*, no. ix (1346). Cf. Soloviev-Mošin, *Gréke povelje*, nos. 6, 7.

⁵⁷ Dölger, "Sechs praktika," 1301, p. 53: ἀγγαρείας πανημερίους ὑπὲρ ὄλου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὰς συνήθειαι. Cf. *ibid.*, *praktika* K, P, V, RV, RK (24 days); Bompaire, *Xéropotamou*, no. 18 C; Lefort, *Esphigménou* nos. 14 (12 days), 16 and 7 (one day per week).

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sisting of bread, wine, and chickens; this "small basket" ("κανίσκιον") was presented three times a year, and sometimes it was replaced by a payment in money.⁵⁸

ALIENATION OF THE HOLDING AND INHERITANCE

The *stasis* of a dependent peasant was not a unit which was expected to remain unchanged over time. For one thing, animals reproduced and died, and sometimes were killed or taken; the great changes in the flocks of Gomatou between 1301 and 1341 must be due to destruction rather than to death or sale. Parts of the holdings, too, could be alienated. Land and vineyards could be donated or sold, and there are recorded transactions in which *paroikoi* sold their land either to monasteries or to private individuals. On the other hand, there is no indication that the monastic landlords in Macedonia had the right to deprive a serf of all his movable goods, or grant the *paroikos'* holding to someone else, as was the case in the Frankish Principality of the Morea.⁵⁹

The transfer of small parcels of land from peasants to the monasteries is one of the most important characteristics of the Byzantine countryside of the first half of the fourteenth century. In the records of the monasteries of Xenophon, Zographou, Xeropotamou, Philotheou, and Chilandar, there are both clear mentions of sale and donation of lands by the peasants to the monasteries, and lists of minute parcels of land, which the monastery had acquired through purchase or donation and which must have been peasant lands.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ The three occasions on which the *kaniskion* was presented were Christmas, Lent and Easter. Cf. Lefort, *Esphigménou*, no. 7; Dölger, "Sechs praktika," *praktika* A, K, P, RK, V, RV, and Lemerle, Guillou, Svoronos, Papachryssanthou, *Lavra*, I, no. 39 (1079).

⁵⁹ Topping, *Feudal Institutions*, article 197.

⁶⁰ Petit, *Xénophon*, nos. VII, XI; Regel, Kurtz, Korablev, *Zographou*, XIX; Bompaire, *Xéropotamou*, no. 16; Petit, *Chilandar*, nos. 32, 33,

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In most of these records, it is not stated that the person selling the land to the monastery was a *paroikos*. Indeed, in the records of sale and donation of Xeropotamou, it is expressly stated that the peasants who alienated parcels of land had held them "in full ownership" ("δεσποτικῶς").⁶¹ But it can be established, with some degree of certainty, that at least some of these people were *paroikoi*. Thus, the monastery of Xeropotamou acquired, through three different acts of purchase, 8.5 *stremmata* of arable in the general region of the village Psalis, from the brothers Gregorios and Modestos Seronas. In the assessment of the property of Xenophon in Psalis (1318), a certain Gregorios Saronas is listed as having 25 *modioi* of arable, while a Modestos Sarana appears on the census of 1338. Both are *paroikoi* of the monastery. The Gregorios Vychas who sold to Xeropotamou the entire field (5.5 *modioi*) over which he had full ownership, must be the same Gregorios Vichas who appears as a *paroikos* of Xenophon in Psalis in 1318. Finally, Georgios Mathaios, his son Demetrios, and an in-law, Ioannes, sold to Xeropotamou fields totaling 20 *stremmata*, which they held in full ownership; Georgios also sold to the same monastery another field of 1.5 *stremmata*. While the document does not indicate or suggest that these people were anyone's *paroikoi*, they were the dependent peasants of Xenophon. In the census of 1338, in the village Psalido-fourna, Demetrios the son of Mathaios, and his family are listed as *paroikoi* of that monastery. It will be noted that although Gregorios Sarana was listed as having 25 *modioi* of land in 1318, his brother Modestos does not seem to have had any property in 1338; similarly, Demetrios Mathaios held only an uncultivated vineyard of one *modios* in 1338.⁶²

142; Regel, Kurtz, Korablev, *Philothée*, nos. vi, x. Cf. Dölger, *Schatzkammer*, no. 62 (1338).

⁶¹ Bompaire, *Xéropotamou*, no. 16, lines 10, 28, 40, 49, 58, 66, 86, 103, 113, 119, 127, 137, 161, 167, 291.

⁶² Bompaire, *Xéropotamou*, no. 16, pp. 118, 121, 123, 124, 125; Petit, *Xénophon*, no. vi, p. 32, no. xi, p. 78.

It would thus seem that these *paroikoi* of Xenophon had sold their last holdings to Xeropotamou, and remained virtually landless. The fact that the lands they sold had been held by them in full ownership does not negate the fact that these people were *paroikoi*. The term “δεσποτικῶς” must be seen as the equivalent of the term “γονικάριος,” which is encountered in several instances. The monastery of Philotheou, for example, had acquired parcels of arable from some *gonikarioi* on the island of Lemnos; two *paroikoi* of a certain Konstantinos Planites were also designated as *gonikarioi*.⁶³ In effect, holding a piece of land in full ownership, being a *gonikarios*, and holding a piece of land “from the paternal holding” (“ἀπὸ πατρικῆς/γονικῆς ὑποστάσεως”) all mean the same thing: the land in question was not held from the monastery, nor from any one else, but it was the hereditary possession of the *paroikoi* who, therefore, could do with it as they pleased. For, in the Byzantine Empire of the late period, the term referring to hereditary possession of land also meant that this land was held in full possession. This fact is undisputed when the terms, and their variations, appear in documents which refer to large landlords. Grants of land which may be held “in hereditary possession” (“κατὰ λόγον γονικότητος”) appear with some regularity in the fourteenth century.⁶⁴ That the term means full ownership as well as hereditary possession, is made clear by an act of the grand *primmikerios* Ioannes in 1374: “the fof of Chrytopolis has been granted to us . . . in hereditary possession, so that we have permission to do anything we wish with our holdings in Chrytopolis.”⁶⁵

The monasteries were the beneficiaries of the alienation

⁶³ Regel, Kurtz, Korablev, *Philothée*, no. x; Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, iv, p. 89. On *gonikarioi*, see Charanis, “Social Structure,” 122ff., and Ostrogorskij, *Paysannerie*, pp. 41–42.

⁶⁴ For example, Petit and Korablev, *Chilandar*, p. 51; Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, v, 107, 109–110.

⁶⁵ Petit, *Pantocrator*, no. v, p. 9; Dölger, *Schatzkammer*, no. 41; P. Lemerle, *Philippe et la Macédoine orientale à l'époque chrétienne et byzantine*, I (Paris, 1945), 206ff.

of peasant land, through sale or donation. It has been seen that some, at least, of this land can be proved to have come from *paroikoi*. It is also clear that *paroikoi* might sell and buy land among themselves. Thus, a *paroikos* of Lavra in the village of Gomatou held 0.5 *modioi* of an uncultivated vineyard which he had bought from a *paroikos* of the convent of Alypiou.⁶⁶ Such cases are rarely encountered, no doubt because of the nature of the documentation. In any case, transfers of land among *paroikoi* must not have been as common as the transfer of lands from peasants to large landlords, for the simple reason that the pressures which forced people to alienate land affected all the *paroikoi* in different degrees. Peasants sold or donated their lands to avoid paying taxes on it; this must have been the reason why Vasilios Planites and Konstantinos Rendakis sold some land to the monastery of Lemviotissa, which was henceforth held responsible for payment of the taxes owed by the land.⁶⁷ Of course, by imperial chrysobull, monasteries usually received immunity from the taxes. At other times, it seems that peasants sold one parcel of land in order to be able to exploit their remaining holdings. Such is the case of Nikolaos Makryioannes, who sold to the monastery of Zographou a certain field for 5 *hyperpyra*. If this land was sold at the usual price of 0.56 *hyperpyra* per *modios*, then the field in question consisted of a plot of 2.8 *modioi*. He also received from the monastery a *voidion* valued at 4 *hyperpyra*, and gave in return 4.5 *stremmata* of land, which, at the average price of 0.56 *hyperpyra* per *stemma* was valued at 2.5 *hyperpyra*.⁶⁸ In this instance, *voidion*, which is contrasted to the term *chorafion* (arable land), must refer to an ox. Makryioannes is thus selling some land, and exchanging a plot of arable for an ox, presumably to be able to cultivate his remaining holdings.

⁶⁶ Lavra, Gomatou, 1321, 33.

⁶⁷ Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, iv, 89, 60–61, 134–135; Ostrogorskij, *Paysannerie*, 58.

⁶⁸ Regel, Kurtz, Korablev, *Zographou*, no. xix; Schilbach, *Metrologie*, 65.

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Apart from selling and donating land, the Macedonian *paroikoi* could leave their holdings to their heirs according to laws and customs which did not much differ from those that governed inheritance in the rest of the Byzantine population, but did differ from the customs of Frankish Greece. In the Principality of the Morea, the land of serfs was inherited by impartible inheritance. The *Assizes of Romania* specified that a holding could be divided among a father and his sons, or among brothers; in that case, each individual was bound to "furnish to his lord the complete service, that is, the *dispoticaria*," while the *acrostico*, the equivalent of the state tax, was paid by all of them in common. However, in the case of such a division, no inheritance could take place; the holding reverted to the lord. The serf's holding could be inherited by the serf's offspring, only if the holding remained undivided and a single descendant inherited.⁶⁹ This provision seems to be an application of the custom of primogeniture, which governed the inheritance of the fiefs of the *Frankish* feudatories in the Principality. On the contrary, Greek feudatories who had held their fiefs from an early date left their fiefs to all their heirs: "their sons or daughters shall succeed equally."⁷⁰ Partible inheritance, which was the rule in the Byzantine Empire, was thus preserved in the case of *Greeks* of the governing class in the Principality. Greek serfs apparently also held to the custom, dividing their holdings among several heirs; but the *Assizes* tried to superimpose feudal law on the custom, making it impossible for more than one person to succeed to a holding.

If in the Frankish Principality of the Morea feudal custom co-existed with the Roman law of inheritance, in Macedonia Roman law prevailed. Its provisions, as stated in the fourteenth-century compilation of Harmenopoulos, can be summarized as follows. Heirs in the first instance are one's

⁶⁹ Topping, *Feudal Institutions*, article 190.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, articles 34, 138. On this subject, see also D. Jacoby, "Les archontes grecs et la féodalité en Morée franque," *Travaux et Mémoires*, 2 (1967), 452-454.

descendants, whether male or female. If a child has died before his parent(s), leaving children of his own, then these children, whether male or female, have a right to their dead parent's part in the inheritance. If there are no descendants, then the closest ascending relatives and the germane brothers or sisters, as well as their children, are the heirs. If there are no brothers and sisters, then the other lateral relatives divide the inheritance equally among themselves. Relatives up to the eighth degree are called to inherit, and the basic principle is that the closest relative is preferred to the one less close, regardless of sex. A daughter who has received a dowry still has a right to the inheritance of parents dying intestate, even if this right had been waived at the time of the marriage; she returns the dowry to her brothers or sisters, and may claim part of the inheritance.

To these provisions was added a novel of the Patriarch Athanasios I (1289–1293, 1303–1309), altering the law in the case of *paroikoi* dying without children. In that case, the surviving spouse inherits one-third of the property, the landlord receives one-third, and the last one-third is expended for memorial masses. When both spouses die without children, then their relatives are called to inherit; but if there are no relatives, half the property goes to the state (or, presumably, to the landlord), and the other half to the church for memorial masses.⁷¹ The law is much more complicated than this summary, making provisions for many different kinds of cases, and it is impossible to see whether in the countryside all the details of the law were followed

⁷¹ Harmenopoulos, *Hexabiblos*, Book v, Tit. VIII, art. 5–23, 77, 95. Provisions similar to those of Athanasios' novel can be found in the Empire of Trebizond. The Emperor Alexios III Komnenos stated in 1364 that "if any of the monastery's *paroikoi*, whether they are settled on imperial land or on their own hereditary land, happen to die without heirs, their hereditary possessions shall revert to the monastery": "ἔτι ἐπεγκελεύεται ἡ βασιλεία μου, ὡς ἂν ὄσοι ἐκ τῶν ἀπηριθμημένων παροίκων τῆς μονῆς τῶν εἰς βασιλικά ἀκρόστιχα προσκαθημένων ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἰδίῳις γονικοῖς γονικαργικῶς εὑρισκομένων τύχῳσιν ἀποβιδῶναι ἀκληρονόμητοι, ἐντεῦθεν τὰ διαφέροντα αὐτοῖς γονικά πρὸς τὴν μονὴν ἐπανέλθῳσιν ἄνευ τῆς οἰασοῦν προφάσεωσ": Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, v, 280.

in practice. What is of interest is the fate of a holding when its owner died leaving close relatives: did the holding pass to the landlord, to one child, or to all the children of the owner? That it did not revert to the landlord when there were children is clear. Sometimes, the holding remained in the hands of the owner's wife, but when she too died, the children inherited.

Theoretically, there are two possible patterns of inheritance, absolutely impartible and partible. In the case of absolutely impartible inheritance, there is only one heir to the property. Usually, this heir goes through a stage of co-residence with the parents, thus forming a stem family which, with the death or retirement of the parents, becomes a nuclear household.⁷² The siblings must then make their living elsewhere or remain celibate, and this type of inheritance theoretically coincides with a high rate of emigration and low nuptiality. In the other theoretical extreme, we find partible inheritance, where all the children share the paternal property, and most of them form their own households. Perfect partibility of property should theoretically coincide with "a high proportion of nuclear family households, high nuptiality, and low emigration."⁷³ Thus, it is important to establish the pattern of inheritance in a society, since this has both economic and demographic implications.

⁷² On the stem family, see Lutz K. Berkner, "Rural Family Organization in Europe: A Problem in Comparative History," *Peasant Studies Newsletter*, University of Pittsburgh, 1 (1972), no. 4; Berkner, "The Stem Family and the Developmental Cycle of the Peasant Household: An Eighteenth-Century Austrian Example," *American Historical Review*, 77 (1972), 398-418, with bibliography.

⁷³ Lutz K. Berkner, Franklin F. Mendels, "Inheritance Systems, Family Structure, and Demographic Patterns in Western Europe (1700-1900)," in Charles Tilly, ed., *Historical Studies of Changing Fertility*; Frederick Le Play, *L'organisation de la famille* (Paris, 1871), *passim*. On partibility and impartibility in medieval England, see G. C. Homans, *English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century* (New York, 1960), chapters VIII, IX; and R. J. Faith, "Peasant Families and Inheritance Customs in Medieval England," *The Agricultural History Review*, 14, part II (1966), 77-95.

In listing the properties of the *paroikoi*, the assessors sometimes differentiated between holdings (arable and vineyards) according to the way in which they had been acquired. Thus, a piece of vineyard may be described as belonging to the holding through purchase, dowry, inheritance, or through a grant from a monastic landlord (“παράδοσις”) (table v-8). A *paroikos*’ property might consist of any combination of the above transactions, which were transactions either between the *paroikos* and his fellow-*paroikoi* (sale, dowry, inheritance), or between the *paroikos* and the landlord (παράδοσις) or between the *paroikos* and the land—and perhaps the landlord (“ἀνάστημα,” that is, “land-clearance”). The differentiation in the *praktika* among various kinds of transactions is made mostly in the case of vineyards. Occasionally, fruit trees are described as inherited, or gardens or arable land are differentiated according to provenance. But for the most part this affects the vineyards. This is one reason, among others, why it must be stressed that in almost every area described in our *praktika*, and especially in the theme of Strymon, the vineyard was one of the most important parts of the holding.

Unfortunately, distinctions between various kinds of holdings do not appear in all of the *praktika*, nor can they be taken to be complete; by far the greatest majority of the holdings are undifferentiated. In trying to establish the pattern of inheritance, one is limited to examining the relatively few cases in which the fate of the paternal holding is clearly discernible; my assumption is that the pattern thus established has universal application, although it is not always discernible because of the fact that most frequently the assessor was interested in the quantity of land held, not in its provenance.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ The fact that the assessors did not follow a consistent pattern in describing the various holdings can be seen from the following examples. Demetrios Xantas, in the village Ierissos, held 2 *modioi* of vineyard which, in the census of 1300, had been designated as being his wife’s dowry; in 1320, the vineyard reappears but the designation ἐκ προικὸς has lapsed: Zographou, Ierissos, 1300, 10, 1320, 8. Ioannes

TABLE V-8
 Partial List of Holdings Showing Provenance of Vineyards
 Holdings in *Modioi*

Case	Undifferentiated	Stasikon	From Purchase	From the Monastery	Dowry	Inheritance	Other
Lavra, Gomatou, 1300 no. 11	4.17				0.5		0.5 ("of his brother"; brother co-resident)
13	6	1			1.3		3 ("of their brother-in-law" co-resident)
38	1.5	1					0.5 ("of his brother-in-law" co-resident)
44	1	0.5					2 ("of his son-in-law" co-resident)
Iveron, Gomatou, 1301 no. 2	3						0.67 ("from dowry of Michael")
Lavra, Gomatou, 1321 no. 2	0.15 (in fact,				4		
9	4.3						

TABLE V-8 (Continued)

Case	Undifferentiated	Stasikon	From Purchase	From the Monastery	Dowry	Inheritance	Other
12	0.8					0.15 (from ἀδελφικῆ μερίδος)	0.67 (ἐξ ἀναστήματος)
33							
37	2		0.5		1		
46	2.25			0.5 (from deserted holding)			
53							
69						1.25 (1/2 share of paternal holding)	
Iveron, Gomatou, 1341 no. 9							
Lavra, Selas, 1300 no. 6	5.5	6.5			0.67		
Lavra, Selas, 1321 no. 2	0.67		0.33				
118	5						1 ("with his brother" — not co-residing)
138					2.5		
Esphimenou, Vrasta, 1300 no. 9	2.5						2.5 (of his father-in-law)
Karakalla, 1342 no. 5	4						1 (ἐξ ἀναστήματος)

The peasants of Macedonia did not always take over the paternal holding *after* the parents' death. In many cases, the holding was partitioned while the parents were still alive; as children married, they could either stay in the original household or they could establish a household of their own, with their part of the paternal holding. The mother's dowry could be inherited by the children. A girl received a dowry at the time of her marriage, but it is not clear whether this was considered to be her total share in the paternal household, or whether she expected to receive more property after her parents' death. Single girls could and did inherit property, although such cases are hard to discern, because there are only a few cases of girls acting as heads of household, which is the only case in which the *apographeus* would register their property.⁷⁵

Various patterns of inheritance can be found in the *praktika*, ranging from equal partible inheritance to a few cases of stem families and impartible inheritance. However, most of these patterns are deviations from or modifications

Panagiotes (Iveron, Gomatou, 1341, 20) almost certainly inherited his vineyard and garden from his mother, Anna (Iveron, Gomatou, 1320, 25); but this fact is not stated in the *praktikon*. Cf. Lavra, Gomatou, 1321, 1-2. The inescapable conclusion is that the assessors were not very interested in the provenance of the peasants' property, because all holdings were taxed alike, with the exception of vineyards or gardens designated as *hypoteleis*. Cf. Lefort, "Fiscalité médiévale," 340-341. Therefore, the fact that some *apographeis* chose to differentiate between some holdings is fortuitous, and fortunate.

⁷⁵ Lavra, Selas, 1321, 74, 108, 83; Lavra, Gomatou, 1321, 2, 3; Esphigmenou, Vrasta, 1300, 9; Iveron, Ierissos, 1320, 25. The village of Gomatou provides an illustration of the unreliability of the designations used by the assessors, and of the impossibility of arguing anything *ab absentia*. In 1300, the assessor, Demetrios Apelmené, designated part of the vineyards of 43 households belonging to Lavra as *stasika*; the same designation is found in the *apographe* of the village Selas in 1300, but it is not found either in the three *apographai* for the holdings of Iveron in the village of Gomatou, or in the *apographe* of Gomatou and Selas in 1320. I understand *stasikon* to mean a plot of land which belongs to the household, and forms an integral part of it. A lot of these *stasika* vineyards are found in the same place, which was called Ligrin.

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of a basic pattern of equal partible inheritance. The norm is one in which all children inherit equally, although often daughters receive dowries in place of the actual inheritance. But because equal partible inheritance creates economic difficulties, modifications are often brought to this system. The overall inheritance system is explicable only if equal partible inheritance—clearly observable in a number of cases—is taken as a norm on which modifications have been made.⁷⁶

A pattern of equal partible inheritance can be discerned in Gomatou in 1321. The widow Anna and her brother Demetrios, both living in Gomatou in the domain of Lavra, each possessed 0.17 *modioi* of garden, which belonged to their “ἀδελφικὴ μερίς,” that is, to the part of the holding which they inherited. Each of them also held 1.67 walnut tree, and 0.15 *modios* of vineyard; these last two pieces of property are not specifically mentioned as being theirs by inheritance, but the fact that they are exactly equal, and the fact that it is virtually impossible to acquire 1.67 walnut tree in any way other than through the fragmentation of an earlier holding, make it certain that this property too had been inherited. Thus, we have a brother and sister who inherited property equally; there may have been other children too, who shared in the paternal *stasis*. In the same village and domain, there are two households headed by the brothers Georgios and Kyriakos Raptēs, the only known children of Foteinos Raptēs. Each has half of the “paternal *stasis*,” consisting of 0.25 *modios* of vineyard, one pear tree, 0.5 *modios* of garden, and two fig trees. The paternal *stasis*, as seen twenty-one years earlier, had consisted only of 1.5 *modioi* of vineyard. Presumably, the father had, before his

⁷⁶ The ideal of partible inheritance of all children (with dowry replacing the actual inheritance for daughters) exists in customary law in parts of modern Greece, and is also established by the Civil Code: Ernestine Friedl, *Vasilika, A Village in Modern Greece* (New York, 1962), chapter 4. The author also shows, in the same chapter, that modifications were brought on this ideal pattern by villagers afraid of the fragmentation of their holdings.

death, exchanged part of his vineyard for a piece of garden and four fig trees. His sons shared the property equally.⁷⁷

Other cases of equal partible inheritance may be found in other domains and on different dates. A few examples will be chosen, to illustrate specific points. In the domain of Lavra in the village Selas, in 1321, we find two of the five known children of Vasileios, son of Chalkeus. The two children, Ioannes Chalkeus and his sister Theodora, each held one-sixth of the paternal garden; a sixth child, unknown to us, presumably shared in the inheritance. The woman, Theodora, was married to Athanasios Karouzos, and the garden plot in question is listed under his name, in his household, but is specifically described as coming from Chalkeus. Thus, Theodora either inherited this plot or received it as dowry. In another case, involving the descendants of Demetrios, son of Vasileios Stanilas, one can see that both children and grandchildren inherited. In 1300, Demetrios had five children, a garden of 2.5 *modioi* with fruit trees in it, and a vineyard of 4.5 *modioi* again with some fruit trees. In 1321, we can recover three of his children (Theodoros, Petros, and Ioannes), and five grandchildren not forming part of a nuclear household. Two of the grandchildren (Theodoros and Kyriakos) are heads of household, while the other three are members of the households. Each of the heads of household, whether son or grandson of Demetrios Stanilas, possesses 0.67 *modios* of vineyard, variously described as "from the paternal holdings," "part of the share of brothers," "near his brothers" and "from the paternal share." It is clear that Demetrios' five children divided the vineyard equally, and that, when two of Demetrios' children died, their share devolved onto

⁷⁷ Lavra, Gomatou, 1321, 1, 2, 68, 69; Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 46. In the domains of Lavra and Iveron in Gomatou in 1320-1321, only a few of the 149 *staseis* show differentiated holdings, and a few more can be inferred to have been inherited. Part of the vineyards or fruit trees of the following households can be inferred to have been inherited or acquired through dowry: Lavra, 1320, 1, 2, 8, 12, 43, 68, 69, 79, 81, 88, 9, 31, 33, 46; Iveron, 1321, 29, 3, 12, 30.

their sons. The fruit trees belonging to the original household, however, were divided into eight parts, and *only* the two grandchildren who are heads of household are listed as having one-eighth share each. It is not at all clear what happened to the rest of the fruit trees.⁷⁸

In the village of Ierissos, the visible property of the *paroikoi* differs, depending on the monastery to which they belonged. The *paroikoi* of Xenophon had little property, both in 1320 and in 1338. Indeed, in a document of 1330, these peasants were designated as *eleutheroi*, who rarely held landed possessions.⁷⁹ On the contrary, the peasants of Zographou, Xeropotamou, and Iveron did own landed property of various kinds, so that it is possible to study patterns of inheritance. These must be inferred, because in this village the assessor almost never described the provenance of the holdings. In the domain of Iveron in 1301, Georgios, the in-law of widow Melissene, and Ioannes were brothers-in-law. They each held 12 *modioi* of arable, so that this is probably a case in which a man and a woman received equal shares of the paternal arable land. In the same domain in 1341, Kyriakos, Rossa, and Paraskeuas were descendants of Kyriakos Dometis, also known as Zervos, who, in 1321, had held 6 *modioi* of vineyard and 25 *modioi* of arable. Kyriakos and Rossa held 8 *modioi* of arable each, while Paraskeuas had 9 *modioi*; each of the three households also had 4 *modioi* of vineyard. It should be noted that the total surface of arable land remains the same as in 1321, that is, 25 *modioi*, and it is shared almost equally among the three descendants. On the other hand, Kyriakos Dometis must have doubled his vineyards, so that each of the descendants had 4 *modioi*. One of the descendants, Rossa, is a widow and

⁷⁸ Lavra, Selas, 1321, 44, 45; Lavra, Selas, 1300, 34, 1321, 46-50. For other examples, see Selas, 1300, 5, 6, 81, 82, 18, 19; 1321, 123, 124, 130, 134, 92-95, 100, 104, 141-144, 148.

⁷⁹ Petit, *Xénophon*, nos. vi, vii, viii, xi. In 1320 there were 6 families which held a total of 2 *voidia* and two cows. In 1338 there were again 6 households, whose total property consisted of 2 *voidia*, 3 cows, and 3 donkeys.

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was Kyriakos Dometis' daughter-in-law; she keeps her husband's share in the inheritance.⁸⁰

The custom of dividing a holding equally among the owner's children can eventually lead to unviable tenures. Particularly when other possibilities of acquiring land, by purchase or from an arrangement with the landlord, do not exist, partible inheritance results in an extreme fragmentation of holdings, thus making it difficult for the new households to survive. It has been estimated that if a peasant family had three children surviving to adulthood, within four generations the average holding would be only one-fifth of its original size.⁸¹ In a case such as Macedonia, where the average size of the property was very small, even the second generation could find that its holding was economically unviable. Many of the holdings which have been described above were already highly fragmented; sharing a pear tree or splitting a vineyard of 1.5 *modioi* into three parts would seem to be a conformity to custom rather than an economic way of providing for one's descendants. Because the system of equal partible inheritance leads to fragmentation, in areas of strong manorial control the system is discouraged, and that is why in the Principality of the Morea, the holdings of Greek vassals could be divided, but not those of Frankish vassals and those of the serfs.⁸²

In Macedonia, there is no evidence that the landlord either sought or succeeded in changing the inheritance system. The theoretical effects of equal partible inheritance, that is, extreme fragmentation, were mitigated by other factors. First, it was possible for the peasants to acquire new lands, either by purchasing them or, in the case of vineyards and gardens, by planting still uncultivated lands. Thus, the

⁸⁰ Iveron, Ierissos, 1301, 12, 13; 1320, 21; 1341, 18-20. Cf. other cases of equal partible inheritance: Lefort, *Esphigménou*, Vrasta, 1300, 25-27 (vineyard, garden, pear trees); 1318, 7, 8, 37, 38; 1321, 11-12; 1321, 20, 21; 1318, 17-18.

⁸¹ Berkner and Mendels, "Inheritance Systems."

⁸² Berkner, "The Stem Family"; cf. Faith, "Peasant Families," 83-86.

holdings of a household were not limited to property received by inheritance. As for arable land, peasants rented arable from the monastery, and the uneconomic effects of fragmentation did not influence these arrangements. Second, if exogamous marriages were frequent—and this is a little known factor—doweries situated in other villages or domains could be used to augment the holdings of a *paroikos*. Third, the low rate of reproduction of this population (see chapter VII) would preclude a high incidence of fragmentation of holdings. Finally, the lands of families that died out could flow to other families in two ways: the widow of a head of household could remarry so that two holdings were consolidated (this is the case of the *antisekoi*) or the monastic landlord could grant deserted lands (*exaleimmatika stasia*) wholly or in part to the surviving peasant families.⁸³ Such factors would retard the effects of equal partible inheritance rather than reverse them.

Because of the adverse effects of perfect partibility upon the economic viability of the holding, the Macedonian peasants often disposed of their property in different ways. In other words, the inheritance system was not rigid, but rather showed some flexibility.

Aside from equal partible inheritance, there were three major types of inheritance of the property of the *paroikoi*, and all three had the result of limiting the rapid disintegration of holdings. The first type is partible preferential inheritance. One of the siblings would inherit either the entire *stasis* or the greatest part thereof, leaving only a little for the other siblings. They, in turn, would either have to marry someone with a holding or acquire a holding in other ways or become propertyless peasants, presumably working the domain lands, or emigrate. In the second type, siblings

⁸³ Kingsley Davis, "The Theory of Change and Response in Modern Demographic History," *Population Index*, 29 (1963), 345–366, has argued that the inheritance system, far from causing demographic change, is itself influenced by and responsive to demographic pressures. He has also discussed the importance of the flow of lands from peasants who died or disappeared to other peasants.

might decide to live together, pooling their holdings. This solution could result either in several nuclear families forming one household or in a high rate of celibacy if one of the siblings married while the others remained single. In the third type, only one of the children would inherit. In a transitional stage, the parents might live together with their heir, who had married and formed his own nuclear family, thus resulting in a vertically extended household.

When preferential partible inheritance was practiced, it is sometimes possible to establish or surmise the basis of preference. *Paroikoi* who had changed residence and lived in a city, for example, did not inherit part of the paternal *stasis*. On one occasion, it seems that the son who inherited his father's profession was excluded from the property, presumably because he was expected to make his living from the profession. That is the case of Stamates, son of the priest Demetrios. In 1300, Demetrios had 3.5 *modioi* of vineyard and had been given by the monastery of Esphigmenou, whose *paroikos* he was, 25 *modioi* of arable land. He had two sons, Stamates and Ioannes. In 1318, Stamates, who had become a priest, had inherited no part of the paternal household, while his younger brother Ioannes held 3.5 *modioi* of vineyard and 25 *modioi* of arable, that is, the entire paternal landed property. In 1321, the priest Stamates is no longer found in the *praktikon*; his younger brother, Ioannes, now was a priest, and he still had two of his original 3.5 *modioi* of vineyard, and his 25 *modioi* of arable.⁸⁴

In most cases, however, it is not possible to explain why some children received property and some did not. In the village Selas in 1300, four brothers, Nikolaos, Georgios, Theodoros, and Demetrios, sons of Paganos, owned property of very different kinds and different quantities. The richest one, Georgios, had one *voidion*, one donkey, two pigs, 4.5 *modioi* of vineyard in two parts, and a garden with an

⁸⁴ Esphigmenou, Vrasta, 1300, 20; 1318, 12-14; 1321, 15-16. Cf. Homans, *English Villagers*, Chapter x.

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olive tree and an oak tree. Nikolaos had another piece of vineyard, also in two parts, measuring 4.5 *modioi*, and 18 beehives. Theodoros had 1 *voidion*, 1 donkey, 6 beehives, and 2 pigs, while his brother Demetrios had nothing. The vineyards of the first 2 brothers are described as *stasika*, and are equal in size and similar in description; they were part of the paternal *stasis*, and were inherited by only 2 of the 4 brothers.⁸⁵ In other cases, the girls received an inheritance in the form of dowry, while the men seem not to have inherited any land.⁸⁶ The reverse could also happen. In the domain of Iveron in Ierissos in 1341, Demetrios Vodinas, a smith, had exactly the same property as his father, Konstantinos Vodinas, had had in 1301. It was a tiny lot, consisting of 2 *modioi* of vineyard and 5 *modioi* of arable. In 1301, Demetrios had had one brother and two sisters, none of whom reappear in the *praktika*. In this case, the eldest brother inherited the entire paternal household, and the siblings either died or left the domain.⁸⁷

There are a number of cases where most of the children of a family have disappeared from one census to the next, and the ones that remain are seen to hold virtually the entire paternal holding. Such is the case of Demetrios Modenos who, in 1318, is seen to own all 50 *modioi* of arable held by his father in 1300. His brother Vasileios, who appeared in the census of 1300, does not appear any more in 1318 or in 1321.⁸⁸ In such cases, there are two possible explanations: either the inheritance system caused the emigration of some of the siblings or, on the contrary, with the death or emigration of the siblings, their property devolved onto the surviving brother or sister and thus gives the impression of following partible preferential or even impartible inheritance.

In a variation of the first type, we find preferential in-

⁸⁵ Lavra, Selas, 1300, 15-18. ⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 6-8.

⁸⁷ Iveron, Ierissos, 1301, 9; 1341, 7.

⁸⁸ Esphigmenou, Vrasta, 1300, 3; 1318, 3; 1321, 2; for similar cases, see Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 3; 1320, 3; 1320, 11; 1341, 2.

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heritance working in favor of a daughter. Widow Anna Droupelia lived in Gomatou in 1321, in a household which she headed and which included two sons and a daughter, all under twenty years of age and all single. Another household was headed by her son-in-law, Ioannes. The two households had exactly the same amount of landed property, which was situated in exactly the same area, and is described in the same terms. There is little doubt that it consisted of two equal parts of a single piece of property. Thus, one daughter received one-half of the original property in the form of dowry, while her mother, two brothers, and a sister had to make do with the other half.⁸⁹

The second type, in which most of the property is held by one person but the other siblings pool their holdings and live either together or separately, also has several variations. In some cases, we find laterally extended households: brothers or sisters, each with his or her nuclear family, live together and pay their taxes together. One of the brothers is head of the household and has the greatest part of the landed property. The co-residing brother or brother-in-law contributes a small lot of vineyard or garden, or whatever other property he has. In this way, part at least of the original holding is kept intact. Furthermore, it must be assumed that the co-residing brothers achieved certain economies of labor, since the women would work together at the house, and the labor force for the vineyards and the arable was increased.⁹⁰

Other cases are simpler. Here the household consists of one person who owns the property and pays taxes, and of unmarried co-resident brothers or sisters. Such is the case of Nikolaos Panaghiotes, living in Gomatou in 1341. He inherited the entire paternal holding, consisting of 1.5 *modioi* of vineyard and 1 *modios* of land which enclosed a mill. With him lived one brother and two sisters, at least one of

⁸⁹ Lavra, Gomatou, 1321, 87, 88.

⁹⁰ Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 7, 11, 38, 44; Iveron, Radolivous, 1316, 80, 82. Cf. Homans, *English Villagers*, p. 113.

whom (Theodora) was over twenty years of age in 1341.⁹¹ The laterally extended families, whose incidence is small in the theme of Thessaloniki but greater in the theme of Strymon, are one way of increasing the profitability of holdings and preventing their fragmentation.

The desire to keep a holding economically intact did not always result in extended households. It was possible for the property to be in the hands of one person while the rights of others on it remained. In two cases in the village Selas, a man held fruit trees and a garden "with his brothers," although there were no brothers resident in the household.⁹² A similar case appears in the lay *pronoia* of Margarites. Two of his *paroikoi*, Dragotzes and Manouel, were brothers, and their nephew Michael was also a *paroikos* and head of a household. Each of these three men is said to hold one-third of the original holding, but an extensive description of the holding is given only in the case of Dragotzes, who appears first in the *praktikon*. His brother, Manouel, is simply said to own "one-third share of field, from those ascribed to his brother, above," while the holdings of his nephew, Michael, are described in this fashion: "One-third of his hereditary holding (*γονικὴ ὑπόστασις*), that is, a vineyard of one *modios* in Voditzai near Symbanes; another vineyard of one *modios* near Mentzes; another in Paliambela, of one *modios*, and also a third share of those [properties] ascribed to his uncle Dragotzes above."⁹³ The rights to the original property have been divided equally among the heirs, but only some of the vineyards have actually changed hands and are exploited by three different households. The rest of the property, consisting primarily of 85 *modioi* of arable land, has remained physically in the hands of one person who exploits it and presumably gives his brother and nephew their share. This is another way of keeping a holding relatively intact and also, to some extent,

⁹¹ Iveron, Gomatou, 1341, 22; cf. Iveron, Gomatou, 1341, 4.

⁹² Lavra, Selas, 1321, 7, 52; cf. Esphigmenou, Vrasta, 1300, 22.

⁹³ Lemerle, "Praktikon inédit," nos. 5, 6, 7.

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of economizing on labor, since it is probably simpler for one household to be responsible for the cultivation of the 85 *modioi* of arable.

The third type of inheritance is one closely connected to the stem family. The stem family, as described by Frédéric Le Play, refers both to a specific type of household structure and to a particular kind of inheritance pattern; the two are very closely connected. In the stem family system, only one child marries and remains at home. He inherits the entire paternal holding, although other children may be given some money. The other children either emigrate or remain in the household and stay celibate. Thus, the holding is preserved intact from one generation to the next.⁹⁴ In a society where this type of inheritance prevails, there is a high incidence of vertically extended families, since at one stage of the family cycle both the parents and the married heir reside in the same household. It is not true, however, that a society with high incidence of vertically extended families also has a system of inheritance in which only one child marries and inherits.

It has been shown that in Byzantine Macedonia there is a fairly high proportion of vertically extended households.⁹⁵ In some of these cases, however, there may be more than one married child resident in the paternal household, while in most cases other children too have remained in the domain, have married, and have inherited part of the paternal holding. Indeed, the true stem family organization, which coincides with impartible inheritance, although common in some Western European peasant societies, is very rarely seen in the population of Macedonian monastic *paroikoi*. One such case occurs in Selas in 1300. Ioannes Trauleas, who is described as "Protogeros," and thus had a position of importance in the village, had a married son, Michael, who resided in the same household. Their holding consisted

⁹⁴ Le Play, *Organisation de la famille*; cf. Berkner, "The Stem Family," *passim*.

⁹⁵ See *supra*, chapter III.

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of 3.5 *modioi* of vineyard and 2 *modioi* of vegetable garden. Another son, Theodoros, who was married and had four children, owned only a tiny piece (0.5 *modios*) of vineyard. It is clear that he inherited nothing from his father's holding, since in 1321 he still owned 0.5 *modios* of vineyard while his son Nikolaos, now married and head of his own household, owned nothing at all.⁹⁶ Such clear cases of stem family organization are extremely rare in the documents, because they were rare in reality; but also for the technical reason that a stem family, after the death of the older couple, would change into a structure in which one married offspring inherited the property, while unmarried siblings lived in the household, and would thus appear to us to be a case of the second type of inheritance.⁹⁷ The reason for the small incidence of stem families among the *paroikoi* of Macedonia is to be sought both in the legal system which provided for partible inheritance, and in the system of landholding. Stem families in Western Europe are commonly observed among peasants who owned substantial portions of arable.⁹⁸ Most of the *paroikoi* had little arable, and made their living primarily by leasing lands from the monastery. Thus, the economic pressure of leaving the holding intact was limited, and the landlord did not have a great interest in keeping peasant holdings intact.

THE PEASANT AND THE LANDLORD

Theoretically, a system of partible inheritance should lead to fragmentation of holdings, to a high proportion of nuclear families in the population, to high nuptiality, and to low emigration. Some of these theoretical effects can be tested in our population. It is difficult to test the rates of

⁹⁶ Lavra, Selas, 1300, 41, 42; 1321, 58, 59.

⁹⁷ See, for example, Iveron, Gomatou, 1320, 25; 1341, 22; Lavra, Selas, 1300, 64-65; 1321, 85, 86, 87; Esphigmenou, Vrasta, 1318, 11; 1300, 15; 1321, 10.

⁹⁸ Berkner, "The Stem Family," *passim*.

nuptiality, because our records do not provide ages, and thus make it difficult to establish the age of marriage.⁹⁹ The order of magnitude of the emigration, however, can be estimated. It will be seen that the monastic *paroikoi* of Macedonia, far from being tied to their land, were surprisingly mobile. Emigration was high, but it was only partly influenced by the inheritance system. Property seems to be an important factor in keeping the peasants on their land. Thus, it has been estimated that in the main sample for the years 1300–1301, the households which can be seen to continue down to 1321 have, on the average, double the surface of vineyards of non-time-series households, and double the number of *voidia*. The households which continue to 1341 have an average of 1.35 *voidia*, while those with no time-series at all have an average of 0.58 *voidion*. On the other hand, the household coefficient of time-series households declined more rapidly over time than did that of non-time-series households, suggesting that there was more migration of individuals from these “stable” households than from non-stable ones. The fact that there was property to inherit allowed the richest households to survive in one location over time; but it is not possible to say that partibility of inheritance through which all the offspring of a couple could expect to receive some property, kept all of these descendants on the domain.¹⁰⁰

Partibility did result in a certain fragmentation of the holdings. Its effects can be seen in table v-9, which lists the most important types of property held by the inhabitants of those villages which can be recovered in the three major *apographai*. It is clear from this table that the average time-series household possessed slightly smaller vineyards and significantly fewer *voidia* in 1320–1321 and 1338–1341 than in 1300–1301. On the contrary, both the total surface

⁹⁹ Le Play, *Organisation de la famille*, 32; Berkner-Mendels, “Inheritance Systems.” On the age at marriage as a response to economic conditions in rural societies, see Davis, “Theory of Change and Response,” 354.

¹⁰⁰ *Infra*, chapter vi.

TABLE V-9

Property of *Paroikoi* in Villages with Time-series to 1338-1341^a

	Number of Households	Population	<i>Voidia</i>	Vineyards	Gardens
CENSUS OF 1300-1301					
Households with Time-series to 1320-1321 or 1338-1341	96	522 (5.44)	130 (1.35)	209 (2.20)	39 (0.41)
Households with No Time-series	69	285 (4.13)	40 (0.58)	71.4 (1.03)	26 (0.38)
TOTAL	165	807 (4.90)	170 (1.03)	280.4 (1.70)	65 (0.40)
CENSUS OF 1320-1321					
Households with Time-series to 1300-1301 and 1338-1341	59	251 (4.25)	44 (0.75)	124 (2.13)	69.6 (1.18)
Households with No Time-series	44	140 (3.18)	5 (0.11)	17.6 (0.40)	9.2 (0.21)
TOTAL^b	159	576 (3.60)	92 (0.58)	259 (1.60)	141 (0.89)
CENSUS OF 1338-1341					
Households with Time-series to 1300-1301 or 1320-1321	84	328 (3.90)	72 (0.88)	168 (2.05)	86 (1.04)
Households with No Time-series	54	189 (3.50)	38 (0.70)	83 (1.54)	37.7 (0.70)
TOTAL	138	517 (3.70)	110 (0.80)	251 (1.80)	123.7 (0.90)

^aThe villages included are: Gomatou, Melintziani, Ierissos, Kato Volvos, and Xylorygion, belonging to Iveron, and Stomion, belonging to Xenophon. All land is in *modioi*; the category "garden" includes one half the surface of all uncultivated vineyards. The numbers in parentheses represent the mean of the corresponding quantity per household.

^bThe total includes households with time-series only to 1338-1341 or only to 1300-1301.

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and the household average of gardens has been increased.¹⁰¹ It should also be observed that non-time-series households possessed more vineyards on the average in 1338–1341 than in 1300–1301; in the case of these households, inheritance and partibility played no role, and the reasons for the increase in their holdings must be sought elsewhere. The same observation may be made about *voidia*: while time-series households became poorer in *voidia* in 1338–1341 than they had been in the beginning of the century, the less stable part of the population actually increased its holdings in that important respect. The effects of partibility may be detected in the fact that “stable” households became progressively poorer, while the less stable households became progressively richer. Over time, there was a tendency for the property of the two groups of households to move toward equality, although in the period under discussion such equality had not yet been achieved. Table v-10 gives the same information about the village Vrasta. Vrasta, which belonged to the monastery of Esphigmenou, has been chosen because it is the only domain which provides information about the fate of arable over time. Here also it will be observed that the holdings of “stable” households tended to become smaller over time. The same phenomenon occurs in the rest of the households, although the decline, in the case of arable land, is much less rapid. The difference in the rate of impoverishment is due partly to the role of partibility, in the case of time-series households.

The inheritance system, however, was not the major factor influencing the deterioration of the economic condition of the peasant. The peasant population *as a whole* was becoming poorer as the fourteenth century progressed, and this is a fact which cannot be wholly explained by the inheritance system. Table v-11 shows the changes which occurred in

¹⁰¹ One of the reasons for the increase in gardens is that I have divided the surface of uncultivated vineyards (*χερσάμπελα*) in half, and included it in the designation “garden.” In 1338–1341, there was a relatively large number of such uncultivated vineyards.

TABLE V-10
Property of the *Paroikoi* of *Vrasta*

	Number of Households	Population	<i>Voidia</i>	Vineyards	Arable
<u>CENSUS OF 1300^a</u>					
Households with Time-series	19	79 (4.15)	27 (1.50)	63 (3.90)	575 (32.0)
Households with No Time-series	27	85 (3.20)	24 (1.20)	88 (3.99)	500 (20.0)
TOTAL	46	164 (3.60)	51 (1.30)	151 (3.90)	1075 (25.0)
<u>CENSUS OF 1321</u>					
Households with Time-series	23	83 (3.60)	17 (0.70)	72 (3.10)	570 (24.8)
Households with No Time-series	14	43 (3.10)	4 (0.29)	24 (1.70)	250 (17.9)
TOTAL	37	126 (3.40)	21 (0.60)	96 (2.60)	820 (22.2)

^aIn cases where some information is missing from the *praktikon*, the calculations have been based on available information only. The *praktikon* of 1300 has not been preserved in its entirety.

the population and the *total* property of the sample under discussion from 1300–1301 to 1320–1321 and 1338–1341. In the villages belonging to Xenophon and Iveron, the number of households, the population, the number of *voidia*, and the surface of vineyards all declined at different rates; only the surface of gardens increased between 1300–1301 and 1338–1341. More significant is the fact that in the time-series households the number of *voidia* and the surface of vineyards decreased at a much greater rate than did the number of households. If inheritance had played a primary role in the fate of the household as an economic unit, one would have expected the reverse to happen. As the population decreased, there would have been consolidation of property, so that the *total* of vineyards held by this population would either have remained stable or increased. The fact that it decreased (as did arable land in the village Vrašta) suggests that there were mechanisms which impeded the consolidation of property in the hands of the peasants.

Two factors seem to be at work here. First, as the population decreased, lands which had been cultivated may have returned to fallow. Contrary to Malthusian theory, the decline in population worked against, not in favor of the peasant, actually reducing his wealth. Second, there seems to exist a pressure that led to the alienation of peasant holdings and to the transfer of these lands out of the peasant community. That the peasant could and did sell land is a well-attested fact. But the impoverishment of the peasants as a whole over time suggests that it was not other peasants who primarily benefited from such transfers of property; sales and donations of land benefited the landlord, in this case the monastery. Thus, it is not merely an accident of history that the bulk of the documentation concerning the alienation of peasant land consists of acts in which the monasteries are the beneficiaries.

The same argument applies, *a fortiori*, to the time-series households of the village Vrašta. From 1300 to 1321 the

TABLE V-11
Changes in Population and Property over Time

	Number of Households	Population	Voidia	Vineyards	Gardens	Arable
a. Villages With Time-series, 1300-1301 to 1338-1341						
Households with Time-series	-13%	-37%	-45%	-20%	+121%	
Households with No Time-series	-22%	-34%	- 5%	+ 16%	+ 45%	
TOTAL	-16%	-36%	-35%	-10%	+ 90%	
b. Village of Vrasta, 1300-1321						
Households with Time-series	+21%	+ 5%	-37%	+14%		-0.9%
Households with No Time-series	-48%	-49%	-83%	-73%		-50%
TOTAL	-20%	-23%	-59%	-55%		-24%

number of households and the population of the village actually increased. The surface of vineyards also increased, but less than the number of households, while the number of *voidia* decreased considerably, and the surface of arable given to the peasants by the monastery suffered a small decline. If we take the total population of the village, then there is decline both in the population and in the total property, but once again the population decreased at a lower rate than the property. The *voidia* declined much more sharply than anything else, with the vineyards in second place. The population of the village was not only smaller in 1321 than it had been in 1300, it was also much poorer.¹⁰²

Ostrogorsky has already observed that the monastery of Xenophon had a certain number of *paroikoi* who, being landless in 1300, were also landless several years later.¹⁰³ He signaled the fact that the monastery had failed to provide its peasants with lands, but considered it a strange phenomenon, given the fact that, according to the information of the *praktika*, the monastery had more revenues from taxes on the property of *paroikoi* than from domain lands. It can be seen from tables v-8 through v-11 that the policy ascribed to Xenophon was not peculiar to that monastery. Even in the domain of Esphigmenou, which in or before

¹⁰² It should be noted that the *praktikon* of 1300 has not been preserved in its entirety, so that the population of the village in 1300 was larger than it appears: Lefort, *Esphigménou*, no. 8.

¹⁰³ Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité*, 331-343. It is possible that the records are not entirely accurate on this point. However poor, the peasants of Xenophon must have been able to cultivate a few vegetables or legumes on small plots of land. Even in the case of peasants specifically designated as "wage laborers" ("*μισθαργοί*"), the only circumstance which would enable one to believe that the peasants actually had no vegetable gardens would be a situation in which the peasants lived in compounds, near the fields of the monastery, and were not allowed any private economic life whatsoever. Such cannot be shown to have been the case. These peasants lived in Ierissos, which was a village shared by many monasteries, and if they had houses they probably also had a small plot of garden. The absence of any mention of such property may be due to its small surface and therefore its non-taxable nature.

1300 had given parcels of arable to its *paroikoi*, the property of the peasants declined over time, and the monastery did nothing to change that fact. Other monasteries may have had different policies. The villages Gomatou, Selas, Metalin, and Gradista, belonging to Lavra, appear in the censuses of 1300 and 1321. In the course of these twenty years, the overall number of households and the overall population increased by 26 percent and 9 percent respectively; although the surface of vineyards and gardens declined precipitously in the same period, the number of *voidia* increased, at a higher rate than the population. The increase both in population and in *voidia* affected the villages of Gradista and Selas only. It was generally rare in this period for the population of a village to increase over time, so that there must be special factors at work here.

The results of the deterioration of peasant holdings through sale or donation can be seen from the dossier of the Gounaropouloi, in Asia Minor. In 1207, three brothers, Michael, Ioannes, and Nikolaos Gounaropoulos, appear to be free peasants who held certain lands in hereditary possession in the region of Smyrna. They sold these lands to an imperial official, Vasileios Vlatteros, who then gave them as dowry to his son-in-law, Ravdokanakes. The monastery of Lemvotissa was trying to appropriate these lands, and Ravdokanakes complained to the Emperor, in 1233.¹⁰⁴ The monastery was probably interested in this property because by now some at least of the members of the family of Gounaropoulos were its *paroikoi*, as can be seen in a census of 1235.¹⁰⁵ The family was still selling small pieces of property. In 1240, they sold a field consisting of 2 *modioi* of land, and six years later they and several other peasants sold to the monastery of Lemvotissa a mill which they had owned in common. By 1281, the property of which they disposed consisted of a few olive trees and the land shaded by them.¹⁰⁶ Thus a family which, in 1207 and 1208, had sold

¹⁰⁴ Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, iv, 183-186, 217-219, 189-192.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 195-197, 93-94.

land worth at least 60 gold coins, had been reduced to poverty by 1235; some members of the family, also, had become dependent peasants.

The subsequent fate of the lands originally held by the Gounaropouloi is also interesting as an example of the concentration of property, for the Ravdokanakes family was so harassed by the monastery that it was forced to sell the land to it in 1236. Shortly thereafter, the monastery complained to the Emperor that Ravdokanakes' mother-in-law was trying to recover these lands which, she said, belonged to her because they had been bought from the *paroikoi* of Lemviotissa, that is, the Gounaropouloi. The Emperor ordered that the widow Vlatteros and her entire family should be removed from the vicinity of what had been their lands, so that they should stop harassing the monastery.¹⁰⁷ The kind of forced sale of lands to the monasteries which appears in these documents was no doubt common in this period. Byzantine Macedonia does not provide case histories as complete as those of the Gounaropouloi. There is, however, a good example of the precariousness of small property in the period of growth of monastic estates.

The example in question does not involve *paroikoi*, but rather small, independent proprietors, who held property in a village called Kritziana in the *katepanikion* of Kalamaria. This village was granted in full ownership by Andronikos II to the monastery of Chilandar in 1321. By August, 1322, the monastery was involved in a quarrel with a certain Koulaïtes and two men named Petzikopoulos and Sarantenos. The first of these held a *stasion* in the village, and apparently refused to let it fall into the hands of the monastery. But he was ordered to cease his opposition. Petzikopoulos and Sarantenos claimed that they had certain *paroikoi* and their property in the village, and refused to give them up. Both these men were ordered not to oppose the monastery in its ownership of the village, including their own possessions. Nothing more is heard of the affair, so they

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 192-195.

presumably were forced to obey the imperial command. A few years later (1327), the family of Petzikopoulos sold to Chilandar three houses and a piece of deserted land which they had previously mortgaged to the monastery in return for a loan of fifty *hyperpyra*.¹⁰⁸ If such pressures could be brought on small, independent proprietors, it is not surprising that the possessions of the *paroikoi* also should diminish over time, presumably falling under the complete control of the monasteries.

The monastic landlords' lack of interest in preserving a propertied peasantry on their domains is also made clear by the fact that the peasants who were new settlers on monastic property were rarely given arable or vineyards, although they could presumably clear land and plant it with vines. The most unequivocally clear example of new settlers is afforded by those people whom the assessors designated as *eleutheroi*. This designation referred to a poor peasant, with virtually no property, who was not inscribed on the *praktika* of individuals or of the state. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the monasteries often received permission from the state to settle on their domains any such peasants they might find.¹⁰⁹ Unfortunately, the assessors were not consistent in using the term to describe all the people to whom it should be applied. Thus, in the census for Lavra in 1300, Apelmené designated certain families as *eleutheroi*; by 1321, the designation had lapsed, although some of the original *eleutheroi* were still there, and there were also a number of new, very poor families who probably would have been listed as *eleutheroi* in 1300. Similarly, and more clearly, in 1330, a chrysobull of the Emperor Andronikos III mentioned certain *eleutheroi* who were settled in the villages Stomion and Ierissos, properties of the monastery of Xenophon. The Emperor was referring to the census done in 1318 by Pergamenos and Farisaïos, but

¹⁰⁸ Petit, *Chilandar*, nos. 60, 81, 86, 95, 112.

¹⁰⁹ See, for example, *ibid.*, nos. 30 (1314), 20 (1319), 60 (1321); Regel, Kurtz, Korablev, *Philothée*, no. III (1287).

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a glance at that census shows that none of the inhabitants of these villages had been designated as *eleutheroi*.¹¹⁰ There were, then, many more *eleutheroi* than those who are specifically so designated in the *praktika*. Table v-2 groups only those who were clearly said to belong in that category, and lists their average holdings in the most important types of property as well as their taxes. The results are clear. The *eleutheroi* had, on the average, much less property, and paid much fewer taxes than any other group of peasants on the monastic domains. At the same time, the other group of peasants who may be considered as "new" settlers, that is, the households which appeared on one census only, were, on the average, poorer than the settled core of the population. Among other things, this fact suggests that the monasteries had no interest in granting substantial plots to their *paroikoi*.

This policy seems most unreasonable in view of the information given in the *praktika*. For assuming that the monasteries were interested in revenues and given that the tax paid by the monastic households was primarily a property tax, it would seem that the monastery would be interested in having rich peasants, who could pay more taxes. The fact that the monasteries do not appear to have acted in a way which would increase peasant property is only explicable if we assume that the landlords' primary interest was in preserving a labor force which would work on the domain lands. Then, the only unreasonable thing about the monastic policy lies in the demographic implications of having a poor peasantry; insofar as property is positively correlated with stability,¹¹¹ it would have been in the interest of the monastery to have propertied peasants, so that they would not leave the domain, and the labor force would be preserved.

The importance of the *paroikoi* to the monastery was not limited to the taxes they paid, and to the labor services

¹¹⁰ Petit, *Xénophon*, nos. vi, viii.

¹¹¹ See *infra*, chapter vi.

and small gifts they owed. The monastery, far from being simply a tax-collector, was also a landlord, and the *paroikoi* were important as a labor force, cultivating the domain lands. The arrangements regulating relations between landlord and tenant were no doubt different from region to region, depending on the kind of cultivation, on the ratio between domain lands and lands belonging to the *paroikoi*, and probably on the customs of the region. This fact is made clear by the *praktikon* concerning the village Mamitzon. In this *praktikon*, and in no other, we find that the *paroikoi* had three different types of relationship with the land and the landlord. Many had their own *zeugaria* and arable ($\gamma\eta$), and other property on which they paid the *telos*; they also cultivated 600 *modioi* of best domain land, so that their labor services were much higher than those found in other *praktika*; and they rented another 1,500 *modioi* of domain land.¹¹² They must have kept all the produce from their own lands, except for that part which they paid as tax. The landlord must have appropriated all of the fruits of their labor services on the "best" domain land. And they and the landlord shared the produce of the 1500 *modioi* of "*ὑπόμωρος*," that is, rented land.

The unique feature in this *praktikon* is the fact that it specifies that a substantial proportion (29 percent) of domain land should be cultivated through labor services. More typical is the presence of large parcels of domain land which are rented out to the peasants, and whose produce is shared between the cultivator and the landlord.

Some documents of the thirteenth through the early fifteenth centuries allow us to study in more detail the rela-

¹¹² Petit, *Chilandar*, no. 92 (1321). There is a fourth type of landlord-peasant relationship, in which the *paroikoi* own no property at all, and are called *μισθαριοι*, that is, salaried peasants: Petit, *Xénophon*, no. III (1300), p. 33. The *praktikon* of Mamitzon is the only one which clearly defines landlord-peasant economic relations. For purposes of comparison, cf. the system of production in the Morea, in P. Topping, "Le régime agraire dans le Péloponnèse latin au XIV^e siècle," *L'Hellénisme contemporain*, 2nd series, 10 (1956), 255-295.

tions between the *paroikos* as tenant and the landlord. These relations are characterized by the fact that the peasant, who rented the land, had no rights of ownership over it; he merely cultivated it, paying to the master of the land rent, the *morte* or *dekatia*. The two terms were often used interchangeably, as can be seen in a document of 1274. This is an adjudication of a case involving a certain Marmaras and the monastery of Nea Petra. Marmaras had appropriated a monastic domain which lay near the lands he held in *pronoia* and appropriated also the *morte* (μορτή) which, the monks argued, was theirs by right. The case was resolved in favor of the monastery, and Marmaras was ordered to return to the monks the *dekatia* which he had collected unjustly.¹¹³ The two terms were used to refer to the same institution.

The payment of *morte* by peasants is sometimes treated in the documents as proof that the land belonged not to the peasant, but to those who collected the *morte*. Thus, in 1262, the Emperor Michael VIII issued an *horismos* concerning land of four *zeugaria*, situated near the village Malachiou. This land, known as Petake, had been granted by Michael VIII to the monastery of Patmos, while the village Malachiou had been granted in *pronoia* to Michael's uncle, Georgios Komnenos Angelos. The inhabitants of Malachiou protested, saying that Petake had belonged to them in hereditary possession (γονικόθεν), and that they paid state taxes on it. For the Emperor, the affair turned around the question whether the inhabitants of Malachiou, who had, indisputably, cultivated this land, had paid *morte* to the state (or to those who held the land in *pronoia* from time to time) or whether they had held it as "hereditary possession" ("γονική") and paid no rent on it.¹¹⁴ An examina-

¹¹³ Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, iv, 420-421; cf. H. F. Schmid, "Byzantinisches Zehntwesen," *Jahrbuch der Oesterreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, vi (1957), 55.

¹¹⁴ Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, vi, 212-214; Schmid, "Byzantinisches Zehntwesen," 63. Cf. M. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile* (London, 1974), 121-143.

tion by an imperial official showed that the peasants had paid rent on this land to the state and to those who occasionally held the land in *pronoia*. This was taken as conclusive proof that ownership of the land did not belong to the peasants, but to the state. Specifically, it was said that the inhabitants of Malachiou did not possess the land in hereditary possession, and did not pay state taxes on it; on the contrary, since land belongs to those who receive the rent, and since the state had been the one to collect the rent, the land belonged to the state, which had the right to donate it to the monastery.

This very important document provides the answer to several questions. First, it distinguishes clearly between payment of state taxes and payment of rent. The peasants paid state taxes on land which they owned, but they paid rent on lands they did not own; rent thus is clearly seen to be a private arrangement. Second, the term "γονική" or "γονικόθεν" is clarified. It does not merely mean hereditary possession, it also defines land held in full ownership. Finally, rent belonged to the landlord, and both lay and ecclesiastical landowners were granted, not merely the public taxes, including the *telos*, but also the right to enter into private arrangements with peasants concerning the cultivation of domain lands.¹¹⁵

The fact that payment or non-payment of rent is sometimes adduced as evidence of ownership of land has been taken by the most important modern student of the institution of *morte* to mean that rent had a juridical rather than an economic significance.¹¹⁶ This is a conclusion which is not supported by the burden of the evidence. The documentation shows that from the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries *morte* or the *dekatiā* referred to an economic rent, not merely to a juridical term concerning

¹¹⁵ For similar examples, see Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, iv, 290-295 (1216), 34-41 (1235); cf. Schmid, "Byzantinisches Zehntwesen," 60-61.

¹¹⁶ Schmid, "Byzantinisches Zehntwesen," 64-65. For another interpretation of *morte*, see Angold, *Byzantine Government*, 134-135.

ownership. Thus, in the early thirteenth century, some *paroikoi* of the monastery of Lemvotissa had taken over and exploited certain lands which belonged to the brothers Goumaropouloi. A petition to the Emperor resulted in the return of the lands to their proper owners; the *paroikoi* of Lemvotissa were ordered to pay back the rent for the time during which they had exploited the lands.¹¹⁷ Peasants who cultivated land belonging to others were ordered to pay the rent to the landowner in 1234 and in 1241. In neither of these cases is there any question concerning the ownership of the land; that is established, and the only concern is that the rent be paid.¹¹⁸ In 1384, the Patriarch of Constantinople, Neilos, speaking of the poverty of the church, declared that the inhabitants of the village Oikonomiou had dispersed, and that the church had no benefit from this land, other than the *morte* paid by a few men who had settled there and were engaged in its cultivation.¹¹⁹ A few years earlier, in 1367, the Emperor John V had asked the church of Constantinople to give him Oikonomiou and one other village, so that he could distribute the lands and revenues to soldiers and thus provide for the defense of the area. When the Patriarch Philotheos refused, the Emperor asked, as a compromise, that the church give him the lands in the same way that others held them, and "sow in them and render the *morte* to the church." This too was refused.¹²⁰

It is thus perfectly clear that the rent was an economic rent, and not merely a symbolic payment which established ownership over land. When the term *dekatiā* is used, it may have the same meaning as *dekaton*, being, theoretically, one-tenth of the harvest. This is exactly the part of the

¹¹⁷ Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, iv, 217-220 (1207); cf. Schmid, "Byzantinisches Zehntwesen," 60.

¹¹⁸ Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, iv, 145, 255; cf. pp. 231 (1293), 234-235 (1235-1261), and Schmid, "Byzantinisches Zehntwesen," 60-62.

¹¹⁹ Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, ii, 62; cf. ii, 20.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, i, 507-508; cf. Schmid, "Byzantinisches Zehntwesen," 63-64.

harvest reserved to the landlord in the *Farmer's Law* of the late seventh or early eighth century. In practice, however, the landlord received more than one-tenth, even if we exclude the taxes, and supplementary dues. Much depended on private arrangements and conditions of tenure. A late Byzantine (undated) model contract for leasing arable land states that the peasant rented a piece of land for a predetermined number of years; he had rights of possession for this period, cultivated the land entirely at his own expense, and gave the landlord one-third of the produce. If a peasant rented a vineyard, then he gave the landlord one-half of the wine he produced.¹²¹

The rent seems to have constituted the major part of the revenues of landlords from rented land, as can be seen in a chrysobull of the Emperor John VII issued in 1407. The Emperor had rebuilt a wall to protect the peninsula of Cassandreia, and tried to make the peninsula productive once again. He introduced some oxen, and stipulated that during his lifetime several monasteries would share the *dekatiā* of all the crops produced by his *zeugaria*. After his death, the monasteries were to share not only the *dekatiā* but also whatever produce was found, and all the oxen and all the villages whose land was ploughed by these oxen, as well as all the inhabitants of these villages along with the taxes they owed to the state.¹²² The Emperor thus disposed of some of the revenues of the lands during his lifetime, and provided for the distribution of the rest of the revenues as well as of the capital after his death. The only revenues that appear in this chrysobull are the rent (*dekatiā*) and the state tax (the *telos*).

Similarly, in two documents issued by the despot Andronikos Palaiologos in 1418 and 1420, and benefiting the

¹²¹ W. Ashburner, "The Farmer's Law," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 30 (1910), article 10; C. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, 6 (Paris, 1877), 620-622. The *dekatiā* was paid at the time of the harvest: Sathas, *ibid.*, and Lemerle, Guillou, Svoronos, Papachryssanthou, *Lavra*, I, no. 69 (1196).

¹²² Bompaire, *Xéropotamou*, no. 28, 206-207.

monastery of Dionysiou, we find that the rent and the *telos* are the only stated components of the revenues of the land. In 1418 the Despot stipulated that during his lifetime "the entire revenues and half the *telos*" of the village Mariskin in the peninsula of Cassandreia would belong to him, whereas after his death the inhabitants of Mariskin, "the *dekaton* and all other revenues as well as the *telos*" would belong to the monastery of Dionysiou.¹²³ Two years later, at the request of the monks, the Despot ceded to them "the *dekaton* of the production of those who will cultivate the land" of Mariskin, while the peasants would pay a new tax to the state.¹²⁴ The state in this case was acting as a landlord, not as a tax-collector.

The *morte* or the *dekatiā* was, as can be seen from the documents already discussed, the feudal rent of the land. It was that part of the harvest which was appropriated by the landlord, whether the landlord was the state or a monastery or a layman who had been granted lands in *pronoia*. Since the state itself differentiates between taxes and rent, it would be a grave mistake to interpret *morte* as a state tax.¹²⁵ It is a private tax of the landlord. And the fact that the state is seen, on several occasions, to cede this tax to monasteries, can only mean that the donation both involved state lands, in which the state had the rights of a landlord, and was not limited to state taxes, but included the private revenues of the landlord as well. It was, in other words, a feudal cession of lands and *paroikoi*.¹²⁶

The clearest statement that the *morte* was the feudal rent on the land comes from one of the documents referring to the dispute between the inhabitants of Malachiou and the

¹²³ Oikonomidès, *Dionysiou*, no. 17.

¹²⁴ Oikonomidès, *Dionysiou*, no. 18 and notes, 108.

¹²⁵ See Schmid, "Byzantinisches Zehntwesen," 65-67, 96-97.

¹²⁶ Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, vi, 211 (1262). Similarly, in 1353, Stephen Dušan specified that the *paroikoi* paid no "rent" (*deset'ka*) on their hereditary "lands" (*baštine*), but did pay it when they cultivated the lands of the church: quoted in Schmid, "Byzantinisches Zehntwesen," 74 and n. 174.

monastery of Patmos, concerning the land named Petake. The imperial official was charged with making an inquest on the dispute and discovering whether the inhabitants of Malachiou held this land "in hereditary possession and with the responsibility to pay state taxes . . ." or whether they held it "at the payment of *morte* and *pronoia*stikos" (ἐπὶ γονικῶ δικαίῳ καὶ τέλει δημοσιακῶ . . . ἐπιμόρτως καὶ προνοιαστικῶς). The word "προνοιαστικῶς" should be understood as balancing the words "τέλει δημοσιακῶ," and meaning that the rent paid on the land was paid to the landlord, to the person who held the land in *pronoia*, not to the state.¹²⁷ One of the differences between the two kinds of payment is that whereas the state tax was a tax on property, the rent was a part of the annual production of the lands. It was also the appropriation of a part of the fruits of the labor of the peasants, so that occasionally the master of the land and the master of the peasants shared the rent between them. This happened in the village Lozikin, which belonged to the monastery of Chilandar. The *paroikoi* of a certain lay landlord, Petros Palaiologos, had entered the lands of the monastery and cultivated them. At the request of the monks, the Emperor Andronikos II ordered the *paroikoi* either to leave the lands of the monastery or to give the monastery half the *dekatia*, the other half presumably going to their own landlord.¹²⁸

The monastic *paroikoi*, then, were important to the monasteries both because they paid taxes and because they constituted a labor force which worked on the domain. But if they were profitable to the monastery, they themselves did not flourish under these ties of dependence. In the course of the first half of the fourteenth century, their holdings declined, even those of peasants who, less mobile and richer than the others, formed the core of the villages. The decline and fragmentation of peasant holdings was due not so much to the effects of the inheritance system as to

¹²⁷ Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, vi, 211 (1262); cf. Schmid, "Byzantinisches Zehntwesen," 62.

¹²⁸ Petit, *Chilandar*, no. 30 (1314).

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other pressures working against consolidation. As the peasants of Macedonia became less prosperous, their numbers also declined, through the double process of declining birth-rates and migration. The bleak picture of decline which the Patriarch Neilos painted at the end of the century, attributing it to the disasters which invasions had wrought on the countryside, had actually begun much earlier.

CHAPTER VI

Size and Movements of Population

THE great value of the *praktika* as sources for the study of the society and the demography of the Byzantine countryside lies in the fact that they allow us to study several domains over time. Thus, economic and demographic trends emerge with some clarity. Insofar as demography is concerned, it is possible to follow over time the natural movements of population, the continuity of households, the structure of the household, and the approximate age structure of the population. In time-series villages, it is also possible to see whether the overall population of the village increased or decreased over time. Unfortunately, the censuses stop in 1341, and do not appear again until the early fifteenth century, thus limiting the demographic conclusions one can reach from the available sources. Furthermore, after the middle of the fourteenth century, Byzantine society was severely disrupted by exogenous or catastrophic factors—civil wars, foreign invasions, possibly the plague. The narrative and documentary sources of this later period all attest to the demographic decline and the impoverishment of the peasant population. The question then arises, whether this obvious decline was due primarily to catastrophic factors, or to a combination of such factors and of pre-existing trends. The information given in the *praktika*, while limited by the fact that it covers only a forty-year period can, I think, give a convincing answer to that question.

The demographic problems examined in this chapter concern the structure of the household and the village, and refer to the overall trends in the size and mobility of the

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population. Natural movements of population will be examined in the following chapter.

Byzantine economic and social historians have already paid some attention to the demographic structure of the peasant population, and most intensively to the structure and size of the household and to the question of the stability of the population. Western European demographic trends of the same period have been studied in much greater detail, providing the historian of Byzantium with some guidance both in terms of method and in terms of the conclusions reached.¹

¹ Some useful general works on the problems discussed in this chapter and in chapter VII are: G. W. Barclay, *Techniques of Population Analysis* (New York, 1958); E. A. Wrigley, *Population and History* (New York, 1969); *Historical Population Studies, Daedalus*, Spring 1968; T. A. Hollingsworth, *Historical Demography* (Ithaca, New York, 1970); Kingsley Davis, "The Theory of Change and Response in Modern Demographic History," *Population Index*, 29 (1963), 345-365; A. J. Coale, *The Growth and Structure of Human Populations; A Mathematical Investigation* (Princeton, 1972). On medieval demography in general, see R. Mols, S. J., *Introduction à la démographie historique des villes d'Europe du XIV^e au XVIII^e siècle*, 3 vols. (Louvain, 1954-1956); J. C. Russell, *Late Ancient and Medieval Population. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* (Philadelphia, 1958); Russell, "Medieval Population," *Social Forces*, 15, 503-511; "Late Medieval Population Patterns," *Speculum*, 20 (1945), 157-171; "Recent Advances in Mediaeval Demography," *Speculum*, 40 (1965), 84-101, with bibliography; J. Heers, "Les limites des méthodes statistiques pour les recherches de démographie médiévale," *Annales de démographie historique*, 1968, 43-72; E. Carpentier, J. Glénisson, "Bilans et méthodes; la démographie française au XIV^e siècle," *Annales, Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 17 (1962), 109-129. On Byzantine demography, see G. Ostrogorskij, *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine* (Brussels, 1954), passim; F. Dölger, "Sechs byzantinische Praktika des 14. Jahrhunderts für das Athoskloster Iberon," *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.—historische Klasse*, N.F., 28 (1949), 23-30. N. K. Kondov, "Demographische Notizen über die Landbevölkerung aus dem Gebiet des Unteren Strymon in der ersten Hälfte des XIV Jahrhunderts," *Études Balkaniques*, 2-3 (1965), 261-272; Kondov, "Za broja na naselenjeto v B'lgarija k'm kraja na XIV v.," *Istoricheski Pregled*, 24 (1968), 65-69; D. Jacoby, "Phénomènes de démographie rurale à Byzance aux XIII^e, XIV^e et XV^e siècles," *Études rurales*, 5-6 (1962), 163-186; N. Todorov, "Za demografskoto s'stojanie na Balkan. poluoströv prez XV-XVI v.," *Rodit. Sof. Universitet, Filozofskois-*

One of the main problems in the study of Western medieval demographic history traditionally has been the problem of the household coefficient. Since most major censuses in Western Europe merely give the number of households, the estimation of the overall population of an area depends on the multiplier one ascribes to the household. These multipliers, the household coefficients, vary widely and as a result so do estimates of total population.² In our records this problem does not exist, for, as has been seen, the *praktika* usually mention not only the number of households but also the household members by name. Thus, the average size of the peasant household can easily be determined.

Table vi-1 shows the average household size and the distribution of households according to size in the villages of the main sample in all three censuses. It is immediately obvious that there was a marked decline over time in the size of the average household, from the maximum of 4.7 in 1300-1301 to the minimum of 3.67 in 1338-1341; the greatest decline occurred in the years between 1300-1301 and 1320-1321. It will also be noted that in all three cases the mean almost coincides with the mode, that is, with the largest single category. Furthermore, although the average household size suffered a marked decline over time, the

toricheski Fakultet, 52 (1960), 191-232; G. Ostrogorskij, "Komitisa i svetogorski manastiri," *Zbornik radova vizantološkog instituta*, 13 (1971), 221-256; Ostrogorskij, "Radolivo-selo svetogorskog manastira Ivirona," *ibid.*, 7 (1961), 67-84.

² Russell, *Late Ancient and Medieval Population*, 52ff.; for a critique of the methods used to calculate the household coefficient, and of the conclusions reached, see Heers, "Limites des méthodes statistiques," 48-62, and Carpentier-Glénisson, "Démographie française," 110-122. On the household coefficient, see also Mols, *Démographie historique*, II, 100-164; A. J. Coale et al., *Aspects of the Analysis of Family Structure* (Princeton, 1965), esp. the Appendix, "Estimates of Average Size of Household," and "The Range of Variation in Actual Family Size, A Critique of Marion Levy Jr.'s Argument," by Lloyd A. Fallers. J. C. Russell, *British Medieval Population* (Albuquerque, 1948), proposes 3.69 as a multiplier, but this is not a universally accepted figure. J. Krause, "The Medieval House: Large or Small?" *Economic History Review*, 10 (1957), 420-432, proposes averages varying from 4.3 to 5.2.

TABLE VI-1
Household Size and Distribution,
Theme of Thessaloniki, Main Sample

		1300-1301 <i>Distribution</i>														
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	17
Members		2	39	78	76	90	46	29	21	7	6	2	1	2	1	1
n		4	39	78	76	90	46	29	21	7	6	2	1	2	1	1
Mean				4.7												
Mode				5												
Standard Deviation				2.1												
Coefficient of Variation				0.45 ^a												
n				403												
		1320-1321 <i>Distribution</i>														
Members		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	11	15				
n		55	182	225	232	140	73	29	11	7	2	1				
Mean				3.7												
Mode				4												
Standard Deviation				1.7												
Coefficient of Variation				0.46												
n				957												
		1338-1341 <i>Distribution</i>														
Members		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8							
n		8	39	35	45	26	11	4	5							
Mean				3.67												
Mode				4												
Standard Deviation				1.6												
Coefficient of Variation				0.44												
n				173												

^aThe coefficient of variation is a measure of dispersion per unit of mean.

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distribution of households according to size followed the same pattern throughout the same period. This can be seen by the fact that the coefficient of variation remained remarkably stable throughout the period.

The same conclusion concerning the pattern of distribution may be reached by measuring the proportion of households which lie one standard deviation away from the mean. In 1300–1301, 30 percent of the households consisted of 3 people or less, and 17 percent consisted of 7 people or more. In 1320–1321, 25 percent of the households consisted of 2 or less people, while 13 percent consisted of 6 or more members; the figures in 1338–1341 are 27 percent and 12 percent respectively. It is clear that the proportion of households which were very small or very large was almost stable. The majority of households consisted of 4 to 6 people in 1300–1301, and 3 to 5 people in 1320–1321 and in 1338–1341.

Table vi-1 shows a decline in the household coefficient over time. This decline may be the result of a true population decline or it may be the result of individuation, that is, of the breakdown of extended families into small nuclear family households, as has been argued by some scholars.³ I suggest that the figures in table vi-1 cannot best be explained by the factor of individuation. First, it should be observed that the fact that the detailed extant census starts around the year 1300 does not mean that history or society also starts then. Individuation, as a normal phase of the domestic cycle, was taking place in 1300–1301, as in 1320–1321, or later. Unless structural changes took place within the first twenty years of the fourteenth century, the effects of individuation should balance out, so that they should be no more visible in the census of 1320–1321 than in that of 1300–1301. Second, if individuation were an important factor in the decline of the household coefficient after 1300,

³ Russell, "Recent Advances," 88; Heers, "Limites," passim; D. Jacoby, "Phénomènes de démographie rurale à Byzance aux XIII^e, XIV^e et XV^e siècles," *Etudes rurales*, 5-6 (1962), 172-178.

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it should be visible not only in the size of the household but also in its structure. That is, one should expect a significantly higher proportion of nuclear families, which is clearly not the case.⁴ Furthermore, if individuation had been an important overall factor, its effects would be most evident in the time-series households. It would be reasonable to expect that the proportion of nuclear families in time-series households would rise over time, and that, by the same token, a significantly higher proportion of the households would be headed by people in the middle age category. In other words, if the decline in the household coefficient in the course of forty years was due to a break-up of complex households into simple ones, then one should find that households which continued over time included more nuclear families in 1338-1341 than they had in 1300-1301. It is clear from table VI-2 that this was not the case. This is not to negate the fact that fragmentation of households and of property is visible in individual cases. On the contrary, such fragmentation did exist. Our censuses, however, are approximately twenty years apart, and the effects of individuation were compensated for by the fact that new extended families were formed in the households of children who had married and left the paternal household. Individuation, therefore, while important in particular cases, does not seem to have played an important role in the overall decline of the household coefficient.

In terms of size, time-series households were markedly different from the others (see table VI-3). For one thing, they were much larger on the average, although the discrepancy in size was smaller in 1338-1341 than in 1300-1301. Their larger size is understandable, since the time-series households comprised the relatively stable element of the population. These households were augmented by relatives outside the nuclear family: grandparents, brothers and sisters, aunts and uncles, nephews and nieces. It also appears from table VI-3 that time-series households suffered

⁴ *Supra*, table III-1.

TABLE VI-2

Household Structure

a. *Household Structure and Time-series in Villages with Two Censuses, Theme of Thessaloniki*

Household Type ^a	Time-series Households ^b				Non-Time-series Households			
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV
1300-1301	59%	17%	12%	13%	67%	10%	15%	9%
	(96) ^c							
1320-1321	63%	19%	12%	5%	71%	16%	9%	5%
	(131)							
1338-1341	57%	30%	10%	4%	70%	17%	9%	4%
	(84)							

b. *Household Structure and Age of Head of Household in Villages with Two Censuses, Theme of Thessaloniki*

Age of Head ^d	Time-series Households ^b			Non-Time-series Households		
	Under 20	20-45	Over 45	Under 20	20-45	Over 45
1300-1301	0	80%	20%	0	85.5%	14.5%
1320-1321	0	70%	30%	0	84%	16%
1338-1341	0	62%	38%	0	87%	13%

^a I nuclear family

II vertically extended family

III laterally extended family

IV fully extended family

^b This category includes households with continuity to one or two censuses.

^c The numbers in parentheses represent absolute number of households.

^d For an explanation of these age categories, see *infra*, Chapter VII.

TABLE VI-3 (Continued)

		1300-1301, Non-Time-series Households Distribution					
Members	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
n Households	13	15	14	14	5	6	2
Mean	4.13						
Mode	3						
n	69						
		1320-1321, Non-Time-series Households Distribution					
Members	1	2	3	4	5	6	
n Households	2	14	10	11	6	1	
Mean	3.18						
Mode	2						
n	44						
		1338-1341, Non-Time-series Households Distribution					
Members	1	2	3	4	5	6	8
n Households	2	14	11	12	9	3	1
Mean	3.5						
Mode	2						
n	52						
b. Average Size of Households in Villages Radolivous and Voriskos, Iveron, Theme of Strymon							
		Time-series Households			Non-Time-series Households		
		5.08 (n = 89)			3.99 (n = 145)		
		4.98 (n = 138)			4.6 (n = 97)		

^aThis category includes households with continuity to one or two censuses.

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a somewhat steeper decline in the household coefficient than did the households which appear in only one census. This is particularly true of the period 1320–1341, and can perhaps be explained by assuming that the two types of household were involved in a migratory movement which affected each of them differently. One envisages a situation in which entire families emigrated from areas which had unstable political conditions or particularly bad economic conditions. These families constitute our non-time-series households. They traveled as a family, but because of the hardships involved the families were rather small; they were nuclear families, and their children were also fewer than those of the “stable” families. The established households, on the other hand, experienced pressure on their limited resources, as each generation came of age and before the previous generation had died out. In such circumstances, it is possible that individuals rather than entire families emigrated in a steady, non-catastrophic trend.⁵ It is also possible that both kinds of household were affected—in different degrees—by other demographic factors, such as a decline in the fertility rate.

Specific factors which are very difficult to detect may be at work in particular villages. The village of Gomatou, for example, shows a wide but inexplicable variation between the average size of the households which belonged to *paroikoi* of Lavra and those which belonged to the *paroikoi* of Iveron (see table VI-4). In the first case, the mean was 3.87 in 1300, while in the second case it was 5.26; by 1320–1321, the two means were almost equal, at about 3.5. It should be noted that this difference between the *paroikoi* of the two monasteries seems to be confined to the village of Gomatou. Overall, the households of the *paroikoi* of the monasteries of Lavra and Iveron had almost exactly the same average size.

The decline in the household coefficient over time must be seen in conjunction with the changes in the number of

⁵ Cf. *infra*, appendix II.

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households and the overall population of the various villages. Here, I will discuss the changes in the villages belonging to Lavra and Iveron, since these were the monasteries with the greatest number of *paroikoi*, and since these two monasteries had several domains which appeared on at least two censuses (see table VI-5). The fate of the two monasteries, in terms of population, was in fact very different. Overall, the *paroikoi* of Lavra increased from 1204 people in 1300 to 1334 people in 1321, experiencing a growth of 11 percent; at the same time, these people lived in smaller households in 1321 than they had done in 1300, so that the increase in number of households was of the order of 25 percent. This population growth was not uniform. It was due to the fact that two villages, Selas and Gradista, had enough of a population increase to compensate for the decline in the number of peasant households—and, *a fortiori*, in the number of inhabitants—in the villages of Gomatou and Metalin.

In the case of Iveron, it is readily seen that the monastery saw a marked diminution of its human resources in its domains in the theme of Thessaloniki. Both the number of households and the number of individuals declined precipitously from 1301 to 1320 and again to 1341, with the decline most evident in the villages of Gomatou and Kato Volvos, and the hamlet of Xylorygion. The village of Melintziani, on the contrary, experienced an increase from 1301 to 1320 and a small decrease from 1320 to 1341. In the theme of Strymon, the situation was just as bad. Between 1316 and 1341, the monastery lost 14 percent of its *paroikoi*. The decrease was primarily due to the fact that the inhabitants of two "settlements" (*ἀγρῖδια*), Ovelos and Dovrovikeia, had left their villages, because of the Turkish incursions, and found refuge elsewhere.⁶ The village Radolivous, very large to begin with, experienced a population increase, as some of the refugees came here.⁷ Radolivous,

⁶ Dölger, "Sechs Praktika," RV (1341), p. 119.

⁷ Jacoby, "Démographie rurale," 179; Dölger, "Sechs Praktika," 29.

TABLE VI-4
Household Size and Distribution, Village Gomatou

		a. Domain of Lavra, 1300						b. Domain of Lavra, 1321						c. Domain of Iveron, 1301						
Members	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
n Households	3	12	20	17	10	8	4	1												
Mean	3.87																			
Mode	3																			
n	80																			
	(Missing Values 3)																			
Members	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
n Households	17	28	27	15	10	10	6	1												
Mean	3.62																			
Mode	3																			
n	104																			
Members	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
n Households	3	8	9	10	8	5	3	1	2	1										
Mean	5.26																			
Mode	5																			
n	50																			

TABLE VI-4 (Continued)

		d. Domain of Iveron, 1320						
Members	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
n Households	2	7	16	13	4	3	1	
Mean	3.5							
Mode	3							
n	46							
		e. Domain of Iveron, 1341						
Members	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
n Households	5	5	8	7	1	4	1	1
Mean	3.47							
Mode	3							
n	32							

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with a population of 972 in 1316, was really a town, presumably with a fortress, which could provide protection to peasants living in the outskirts or in the general district. The population increase in this village, then, is not surprising, and it is clearly due to the factor of immigration from the surrounding area. It is equally evident that the extinction—at least temporarily—of Ovelos and Dovrovi-keia was due to external and catastrophic factors, namely the Turkish incursions.

No such easy explanation can be found for the various changes which occurred in the other domains of Iveron and in those of Lavra. Selas and Gradista, which were characterized by a significant population increase between 1300 and 1321, have another distinguishing characteristic. The people who inhabited these villages in 1300 were less mobile than the inhabitants of either Gomatou or Metalin, the only other domains of Lavra about which this type of information exists. Whereas about 74 percent of the households of Selas and Gradista can be recovered in the census of 1321, only 56 percent of the households of Gomatou and 60 percent of those of Metalin may be recovered. Thus, it may be fairly stated that the population of the first two villages, as seen in 1300, was more stable than the population of Gomatou and Metalin. However, this alone does not explain the difference in the population changes of the various villages. The explanation lies in the fact that of all the villages under discussion, Selas acquired the largest number of new households, and thus experienced the dramatic population change which can be seen in table VI-5. The fact that the population of some domains of Lavra increased between 1300 and 1321, while that of most other monastic domains decreased in the same period, may result directly from the Catalan campaign in Macedonia. It is attested by diplomatic sources that the monks of Lavra sought and received the protection of the King of Aragon, James II, in 1308. The protection extended to the monas-

TABLE VI-5

Population of the Time-series Villages of Lavra and Iveron

a. Lavra, Theme of Thessaloniki											
Year	Gomatou		Selas		Gradista		Metalin		n	Population Mean	Mean
	n	Households	n	Population Mean	n	Population Mean	n	Population Mean			
1300											
Documented	80	310	92	503	22	117	33	151	33	5.3	4.6
Estimated	112	433		3.88							
Time-series Households	56%		74%		73%		60%				
1321	104	376	161	693	32	146	28	119	28	4.6	4.25
Time-series Households	77%		73%		78%		86%				

Total Lavra, Theme of Thessaloniki			
Year	n	Population	Mean
1300	259	1204	4.7
1321	325	1334	4.1

b. Iveron, Theme of Thessaloniki											
Year	Gomatou		Melintziani		Kato Volvos		Ierissos		Xylogrygion		Mean
	n	Pop.	n	Pop. Mean	n	Pop. Mean	n	Pop. Mean	n	Pop. Mean	
1301	50	263	29	121	34	177	36	181	11	43	3.9
Time-series Households	70%		69%		26%		61%				27%

TABLE VI-5 (Continued)

Year	Gomatou		Melintziani		Kato Volvos		Ierissos		Xylorygion		
	n	Pop. Mean	n	Pop. Mean	n	Pop. Mean	n	Pop. Mean	n	Pop. Mean	
1320	46	161	39	152	21	82	32	123	3	8	2.7
Time-series to 1301		83%		76%		62%		75%		100%	
1320											
Time-series to 1341		39%		46%		48%		41%		33%	
1341	32	111	34	136	25	102	30	113	3	11	3.7
Time-series Households		62.5%		65%		60%		60%		33%	
<i>Total Iveron, Theme of Thessaloniki</i>											
	Year	n	Population		Mean						
	1301	160	785		4.9						
	1320	141	526		3.7						
	1341	124	362		2.9						

TABLE VI-5 (Continued)

		Voriskos		Radolivos		Ovelos		Dovrovikeia					
		n	Population	Mean	n	Population	Mean	n	Population	Mean			
1316		12	62	5.2	222	972	4.4	38	171	4.5	21	109	5.1
Time-series Households			33%			38%							
1341		16	75	4.7	219	1060	4.8	0	0		0	0	
Time-series Households			31%			61%							

Total Iveron, Theme of Strymon		
Year	n	Population
1316	293	1314
1341	235	1135
		Mean
		4.5
		4.8

Note: The ratio of relative change in the size of the population is found by the formula $\frac{P_2 - P_1}{P_1}$, where P_1 is the population at the beginning of the period, and P_2 is the population at the end of the period.

^aBecause of the *Iacuna* in the *praktikon* of 1300, the documented population of Gomatou is smaller than the real population. I estimate that approximately 32 households are missing; the estimated population is used in this discussion. The documented population of the other villages is equal to the real one.

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tery, its monks, its domains, and its serfs.^{7a} It is, therefore, possible that the domains of Lavra escaped the worst effects of the Catalan campaign, and that their population increased because of immigration from endangered areas.

The villages of the monastery of Iveron also underwent interesting population changes over time. Melintziani, with an original population of 121, increased its population by 10 households and 31 persons between 1301 and 1320, but lost 5 households (16 persons) between 1320 and 1341. Between 1301 and 1320, Kato Volvos had a dramatic decline, the hamlet of Xylorygion was very much reduced, and the villages of Gomatou and Ierissos suffered a significant decline in population, and a smaller one in terms of number of households. Kato Volvos and Melintziani provide examples of two opposite trends. Only 26 percent of the original households of Kato Volvos may be recovered in 1320, while 69 percent of those of Melintziani are recoverable; the size of the population of the two villages also changed in opposite directions.

An explanation for the difference in the fate of the two villages has been offered by D. Jacoby, who has noted that, whereas Kato Volvos was situated on the route from Thessaloniki to Cassandreia and therefore had suffered the Catalan invasion of 1307-1309, Melintziani was a safe distance away from the coast, and thus did not lose much of its population; indeed, it may even have attracted outsiders.⁸ According to Jacoby, the Catalan invasion was also responsible for the decline of the population of the villages of Gomatou and Ierissos, and of the hamlet Xylorygion. The Catalans were very destructive in the peninsula of the Chalkidike and the area around Thessaloniki. They had a stronghold in Cassandreia, and from there they attacked Mount Athos and Thessaloniki, and terrorized the Chalkidike. We know specifically of attacks on the possessions of

^{7a} A. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins; The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II (1282-1328)* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), 222 and n. 86.

⁸ Jacoby, "Démographie rurale," 178-179.

Chilandar and Lavra.⁹ The countryside between Thessaloniki and Mount Athos was burned, and people fled into the fortified towns, taking their flocks with them.¹⁰ In less than a year, the Catalans were forced to seek supplies from Thessaly, since the area around Thessaloniki and the Chalkidike could no longer feed them. By the time of the census of 1320–1321, some of the effects of that campaign must have still remained in the case of the population of the villages which lay within the radius of Catalan activity.

The possessions of Iveron in the villages of Gomatou and Ierissos show another interesting pattern. Here, the decline between 1301 and 1320 was due less to a decrease in the number of households and more to a substantial decline in the household size. By far the largest part of the households (83 percent in the case of Gomatou, 75 percent in the case of Ierissos) was headed by people who had appeared in the earlier census, or by their descendants. But, despite this apparent stability, the households were much smaller than they had been in 1301, making for a considerably reduced population. The Catalan invasions may have played a role here; for the population of other domains in Ierissos declined as well. The monastery of Zographou had fewer households and fewer people in Ierissos in 1321 than in 1300; the fragmentary information from the monastery of Xeropotamou suggests that its domain, on the contrary, expanded. It is important to notice that, here as

⁹ J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca e codicibus regijs*, II (Paris, 1830), 188–211, 223–227; L. Mirkhović, *Životi kraljeva i archiepiskopa Srpskich* (Belgrade, 1935), 257–265; A. Rubió y Lluch, *La companyia Catalana soto el comandament de Teobald de Çepoy, 1307–1310* (Barcelona, Institut d'estudis Catalans, 1923), 34–36, 39–40; *idem*, *Diplomatari de l'Orient Català, 1302–1409* (Barcelona, 1947), no. 40; A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ανάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας, V (St. Petersburg, 1898) 214; R. M. Dawkins, "The Catalan Company in the Traditions of Mount Athos," *Homenatge a A. Rubió y Lluch*, I (Barcelona, 1936), 267–270.

¹⁰ Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, II, 222–223; Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ανάλεκτα, V, 214; Nicephori Gregorae, *Byzantina Historia*, ed. L. Schopen, I (Bonn, 1829), 246.

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elsewhere, the number of households is only slightly reduced, in contrast to the household coefficient which drops precipitously (see table VI-6). Two explanations are possible.

The first is a bureaucratic one; it would suggest that, as the number of people declined, the monastery and the fiscal agents changed their definition of the household, in a conscious effort to keep the number of households in a domain as stable as possible. This explanation is seen to be impossible, first because it would seem difficult to force people to live in smaller units by some sort of bureaucratic measure, and second because the structure of the household in terms of family units did not much change over time, as had been shown. The other possible explanation has already been mentioned: it is the migration of individuals from the domain, either for reasons of security or, more likely, because the progressive impoverishment of the peasant household made life precarious.

If a general conclusion may be drawn about the size of the population of monastic domains in Macedonia in the first twenty years of the fourteenth century, it is that in most instances there is a decline of the population and of the number of households. In a few cases—Selas, Gradista, Melintziani—the population actually increased. In all cases, the household coefficient declined. Migration played an important role, both in the cases of increasing population and in the cases where the population decreased.

For the period between 1320 and 1341, quantitative information is unfortunately limited. It primarily consists of the data from the monastery of Iveron, and a few data from the monastery of Xenophon.¹¹ There is information from other monasteries bearing on the years 1330–1341, but it is unusable in this instance, since it concerns villages

¹¹ That is, the villages Gomatou, Ierissos, Kato Volvos, Melintziani, Xylorygion and Stomion. The many *lacunae* in the *praktika* of Xeropotamou make them unusable here.

TABLE VI-6
Population of Ierissos

Monastery	n Households	Population	Mean	Time-series Households	
				Forward	Back
		<u>1300-1301</u>			
Iveron	35	178	5.086	64%	
Zographou	15	56	3.733	40%	
Xenophon		No Information			
Xeropotamou	16	—	—	69%	
(after 1300)	2	12	6		
Lavra					
		<u>1320-1321</u>			
Iveron	32	123	3.84	38%	72%
Zographou	12	37	3.08		67%
Xenophon	6	19	3.17	17%	
Xeropotamou					
(1315-1320)	25	77	3.1	68%	60%
Lavra		No Information			
		<u>1338-1341</u>			
Iveron	30	113	3.77		55% (to 1320)
Zographou					17% (to 1301)
Xenophon	6	No Information	3.33		17%
Xeropotamou		20			
(1320-1325)	20	52	2.6		65% (to 1315)
Lavra		No Information			25% (to 1300)

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without time-series, so that comparisons of the population over time are impossible.

For the possessions of the monastery of Iveron in the theme of Thessaloniki, the situation is clear. There is an overall decline both in the number of households and in the number of people from 1320 to 1341. The decline affects the various villages differently, with Gomatou being most affected, while Kato Volvos and Xylorygion actually experienced a very slight increase. In the domains of Xenophon on the contrary, there is a population increase, as can be seen in table vi-7. The increase occurs primarily in the neighboring villages of Stomion and Psalidofourna-Neakitou.

The difference in the population change of the domains of the two monasteries shows how difficult it is to draw general conclusions from the fragmentary data which have survived. It is not, however, impossible to distinguish trends. A closer look at the available information reveals fundamental differences in the structure of the population of the two monasteries, and provides suggestions as to the typical or atypical nature of each. The *paroikoi* of Iveron lived in fairly large villages, of which Gomatou, with a maximum population of 696 (1300-1301) was the most populous.¹² The peasants had some property, and in most of the villages, with the exception of Kato Volvos and Xylorygion, there was a fairly stable core of villagers, forming households which can be found in two or three censuses. I would suggest that the trends visible in the villages belonging to Iveron were typical of most of the domains of Lavra, Esphigmenou, and Xeropotamou, which have similar characteristics, at least as can be seen from the information available up to the 1320's.

The case of the domains of Xenophon is different. Its

¹² The population of Gomatou, as stated here, includes the *paroikoi* of both Lavra and Iveron. The hamlet of Xylorygion is an obvious exception to the statement that the domains of Iveron were quite populous.

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TABLE VI-7

Population of the Domains of Xenophon

Domain	n Households	Population	Mean	Land in <i>Modioi</i>
<u>1300</u>				
Stomion	6	26	4.3	2,475.5
Psalidofourna- Neakitou	No Information			1,918
Ierissos	No Information			
<u>1318</u>				
Stomion	17	45	2.6	2,410
Psalidofourna- Neakitou	7	No Information		
Ierissos	4	13	3.25	
<u>1320</u>				
Stomion	17	44	2.6	
Psalidofourna- Neakitou	10	40	4	
Ierissos	6	19	3.17	
<u>1338</u>				
Stomion	19	53	2.8	5,998
Psalidofourna- Neakitou	30	97	3.2	4,550
Ierissos	6	20	3.3	

paroikoi were, for the most part, very poor, and were repeatedly described as "poor," *proskathemenoi* and *eleutheroi*. They were peasants who had probably come from elsewhere and were eking a living on the lands of the monastery, sometimes simply as day-laborers.¹³ Sometimes, the census did not even mention their names, but spoke simply of a certain number of *proskathemenoi*.¹⁴

¹³ Petit, *Xénophon*, no. III (1300), 33: "προσκαθήμενοι μίσθαρνοι."

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, no. IV (1317), 39.

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The general area of Psalidofourna-Neakitou, which belonged to Xenophon, increased in size from 1,918 *modioi* to 4,491 *modioi* between 1300 and 1320; among the people who inhabited it in 1318–1320 there were some in Neakitou who were landed peasants, and whose ancestors had given or granted some of their land to Xeropotamou in 1312.¹⁵ But in 1330, the Emperor Andronikos II mentioned some “free settlers” (“προσκαθήμενοι τινὲς ἐλεύθεροι”) attached to 400 *modioi* of land which had originally belonged to the monastery, then had been given to some soldiers of the army corps of Thessaloniki, and had now returned to the monastery.¹⁶ It is entirely possible, and indeed probable, that some of these “free settlers,” who had not been registered in 1318–1320, were listed in the *praktikon* of 1338, thus explaining the threefold increase in the number of households of Psalidofourna-Neakitou. If this is the case, then the phenomenon has no demographic significance, and the population increase here is simply an increase in the number of people who were inscribed on the *praktika* of the monastery. It is, in other words, a bureaucratic or fiscal matter. The increase in the population of Stomion is explicable in the same fashion. The difference between the population of these villages and that of the villages of Iveron or Lavra may be seen in the fact that the inhabitants of Stomion were called “salaried” peasants in 1300, and “poor free” peasants in 1320; it is very exceptional for the entire population of a village to be described in these terms. In most other domains, the “free” peasants, the *eleutheroi*, were appended at the end of the *praktikon*, and often differentiated from the other villagers.

There are, then, two distinct types of settlement. One includes a sizable number of stable households, and its

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, nos. VI (1318), VII (1321); Bompaire, *Xéropotamou*, no. 16.

¹⁶ Petit, *Xénophon*, no. VIII (1330), 63; XI (1338), 79–80. The soldiers were holding some lands in that area in 1317 (*ibid.*, p. 38); therefore, the return of the lands to the monastery must have taken place after that date.

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paroikoi own a certain amount of property, small though that amount is. The other type has a small population, without much continuity over time, and with less than the average property. These peasants, variously described as "salaried," "poor," *eleutheroi*, were a shifting population, and were not always inscribed on the *praktika*. Therefore, the real population change in the second type of settlement is very difficult to establish. On the other hand, I would argue that the population changes visible in the domains of Iveron, which show a decline between 1320 and 1341, were characteristic of the general trend affecting villages of the first type. Thus, the population of the villages of Lavra, Xeropotamou, and Esphigmenou would be expected to have declined between 1320-1321 and 1341.

The change in the population of monastic domains over time was not limited to the size of the population. The monastic *paroikoi* as a whole exhibited a significant degree of mobility, so that entire households disappeared between censuses, and new ones appeared.¹⁷ In other words in the monastic domains there was both immigration and emigration. Since the average time-series household had different demographic and economic characteristics from the average non-time-series household, it follows that the structure of the total population and its economic condition were affected by the mobility of the peasants.

The degree to which the peasant population of monastic domains disappeared from the domain and was replaced can be seen from the data presented in table vi-8. Before these data can be interpreted, it should be stated that, had the natural population increase been even slightly above zero, and had there been no migration, the population in 1320 and in 1338-1341 would have been larger than in

¹⁷ The households which appear in two or more censuses, thus showing continuity, are here designated as time-series households; those with no continuity, which appear in one census only, are designated as non-time-series households. Of course, these designations can only be used in villages which appear on more than one census.

TABLE VI-8

Disappearance and Replacement of Households,
Theme of Thessaloniki(For Villages with Any Time-series, Entire Sample of Monastic *Paroikoi*)

1300-1301, <i>Time-series Forward</i>						
Category	0	1	2	3	7 ^a	
n Households	159	72	111	13	51	
	39%	18%	27%	3%	13%	
	n = 405					
1320-1321, <i>Time-series Forward</i>						
Category	0	1	2	3	7 ^a	
n Households	105	27	40	3	51	
	60%	15%	23%	17%	13%	
	n = 175					
1320-1321, <i>Time-series Back</i>						
Category	0	1	2	3	5	6 ^b
n Households	130	284	50	8	69	
	27.5%	60%	11%	2%	39%	
	n = 472					
1338-1341, <i>Time-series Back</i>						
Category	0	1	2	3	5	6 ^b
n Households	88	10	5	1	2	69
	50%	6%	3%	0.6%	1%	39%
	n = 175					

^a 0 = Non-Time-series forward

1 = Head appears in next census

2 = Son or daughter of head of household appears in next census

3 = Other member of household appears in next census

7 = Household appears on both next censuses

^b 0 = Non-Time-series backward

1 = Head appears in previous census

2 = Father (mother) of head appears in previous census

3 = Other member of household appears in previous census

5 = Time-series only to 1300-1301

6 = Household appears in both previous censuses

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1300-1301, and would have consisted almost entirely of descendants of the households which appeared in the first census. That the population did not increase in many villages has already been established. The data presented in table VI-8 show that a large proportion of the households in 1320-1321 and 1338-1341 did not consist of descendants of the original households.

Of the households which appeared in the first major census, of 1300-1301, almost 40 percent disappeared from their domain as seen in subsequent records. A few are recoverable in the records of different domains, but these cases are too few to modify the results significantly. Both in 1300-1301 and in 1321, where continuity to the next census appears, it mostly takes the form of a son, or daughter, or son-in-law inheriting the paternal *stasis*, and becoming head of household.¹⁸ Only in 13 percent of the cases did the original householders of 1300-1301 or their descendants appear on both subsequent *apographai*. In a substantial number of cases (18 percent) the original householder or his spouse continued to head the household in 1321. In 1320-1321, an interesting phenomenon emerges. By far the greatest majority of households (60 percent) is headed by people who had already appeared on the census of 1300-1301, although not necessarily as heads of household; they may have appeared as the children of the head of household. A relatively small number of households (13 percent) was headed by people whom we encounter for the first time, but whose parents were householders in 1300-1301;

¹⁸ For example, in the domain of Iveron at Gomatou, Ioannes Rouchas headed a household in 1321 (no. 3); he was the son of Nikolaos Rouchas, head of the household in 1301 (no. 3). The designations "father" and "son" are used as general terms which may include, in the first case, fathers, mothers, and parents-in-law, and in the second case sons, daughters, and sons-in-law or daughters-in-law. In the census of 1320-1321, there are some villages which continue forward to 1341 and some which do not; obviously, the calculation of time-series households is made only for those villages which have the appropriate time-series; the households of other villages are given a missing value in the variable "time-series."

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presumably, these are people who were very young, under twenty years of age, since they had not yet been born in 1300-1301. The population of the monastic domains in 1320-1321 primarily consisted of households (72.5 percent) showing continuity to the previous census. Thus, although many households had disappeared between 1300-1301 and 1320-1321, the descendants of the original population were numerous enough to account for the majority of households. Table VI-9, which presents the data for only those villages for which there is information covering all three censuses, shows the same trend, although on a different scale and with different proportions.

TABLE VI-9
Disappearance and Replacement of Households
in Villages Appearing in Three Censuses,
Theme of Thessaloniki

Apographe	Time-series Households ^a	Non-Time-series Households
1300 - 1301	96 (58%)	69 (42%)
1320 - 1321	Forward: 70 (30%) Back: 120 (51%)	44 (19%)
1338 - 1341	84 (61%)	54 (39%)

^aThis category includes households which show continuity to one or two censuses.

Between 1320-1321 and 1341, the population became much more mobile. Unfortunately, the data base here is more limited than for the previous two decades, consisting of only 175 observations (see table VI-8). Still, the smallness of the sample is not such as to invalidate the results. It is immediately evident that a large proportion of the households of 1300-1301 or 1320-1321 did not continue down to 1341, so that on that date only 50 percent of the households had any continuity whatsoever, and only 39 percent of them consisted of descendants of the householders of 1300-1301. When we consider only the villages which had a full time-series, appearing in all three major censuses, the same trend emerges (see table VI-9).

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The population of Gomatou was more stable than that of the average village (see table vi-10). Furthermore, it would seem that the *paroikoi* who belonged to the monastery of Lavra were more mobile than the *paroikoi* of Iveron, although they all lived in the same village.¹⁹ This phenomenon, which has an intrinsic interest, is not easy to interpret. The fact that the *paroikoi* of Iveron in Gomatou were richer on the average than those of Lavra in terms of *zeugaria* and vineyards, and that more of them owned property may have some explanatory value.

There was, then, a substantial degree of mobility among the monastic *paroikoi* of Macedonia. To some degree, the mobility that appears in the tables is exaggerated, because of the inadequacy of the sources. Since the identification of peasants was not very accurate, it is possible that a number of households which in the sources appear to have no continuity did continue. The fact that the censor identified the majority of peasants by nickname or by family association makes identification especially fragile after two or three generations, thus affecting particularly the census of 1338-1341. Furthermore, in the cases where girls inherited the *stasis*, identification becomes even harder, since the censor

¹⁹ The reader will notice that my figures differ slightly from those of Dölger who found that only 15 per cent of the households of Gomatou in 1317 did not appear on the census of 1301. The discrepancy is due first to the fact that a certain Georgios Tzymoures inexplicably appears in Dölger's list of time-series households ("Sechs Praktika," p. 24, no. 11) although he does not appear in the *praktikon*, and secondly to the fact that Dölger suggests that Georgios, son of Papas Ioannes, might be the son of the priest Ioannes, a householder in 1301 (p. 25, no. 42). Dölger admits that this is an uncertain identification, and I do not think that there is any reason to posit a time-series here. Other discrepancies between Dölger's and my identification of householders exist, but they do not affect the final figures. These discrepancies are: 1. Eirene Papaioanno (Dölger, p. 25, no. 32), is the daughter of Vasileios Papaioannas, otherwise known as Vasileios Papiservou, not, as Dölger suggests, the daughter of Ioannes Kolokyntas. 2. I suggest that Stephanos Skiadas is the son-in-law of Konstantinos Tzymoures, in-law of Gounarios, not of Konstantinos Tzymoures the in-law of Tzykalas (that is, of Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 38, not 11). The reason for this admittedly uncertain identification is the serial placement of Skiadas in the *praktikon* of 1317.

TABLE VI-10
Disappearance and Replacement of Households,
Village Gomatou

<i>a. Domain of Iveron</i>					
1301, <i>Time-series Forward</i> ^a					
Category	0	1	2	3	7
n Households	15	11	4	2	18
	30%	22%	8%	4%	36%
	n = 50				
1320, <i>Time-series Forward</i> ^a					
Category	0	1	2	3	7
n Households	28	7	9	2	0
	61%	15%	20%	4%	
	n = 46				
1320, <i>Time-series Back</i> ^b					
Category	0	1	2	3	6
n Households	8	35	3	0	0
	17%	76%	6.5%		
	n = 46				
1341, <i>Time-series Back</i> ^b					
	12				20
	37.5%				62.5%
	n = 32				
<i>b. Domain of Lavra</i>					
1300, <i>Time-series Forward</i> ^a					
Category	0	1	2	3	7
n Households	35	15	27	2	0
	44%	19%	34%	2.5%	
	n = 79				
1321, <i>Time-series Back</i> ^b					
Category	0	1	2	3	6
n Households	17	43	9	5	0
	23%	58%	12%	7%	
	n = 74				
	Missing Values = 30				

^aFor the meaning of these categories, see Table VI-8.

^bFor the meaning of these categories, see Table VI-8.

would list the husband as the head of household and would not necessarily identify the wife by reference to her parents. These difficulties are somewhat mitigated by the censor's practice of listing first those households which showed continuity over time and by the practice of identifying pieces of property by their location. Thus it is possible to follow property over time, in some cases where the identification of persons is uncertain. Of course, neither of these two practices was always followed. It is *generally* true that time-series households were listed first, but it is by no means a universal rule. And there are great variations in the identification of holdings, which is sometimes very meticulous and sometimes very casual. Despite all these difficulties, however, identification of peasants *within the same domain* is solid enough to force us to accept in general terms the figures concerning mobility. There is no doubt that the figures themselves are not accurate, and that if all the information about peasant households were known, the figures would suffer a revision; but I do not believe that the revision would be a major one.

The mobility of monastic *paroikoi*, already noted by some historians²⁰ is, at first glance, surprising. In theory, the *paroikoi* were not allowed to leave the domain of their landlord and the status of *paroikos* was hereditary in practice, although this heritability was not safeguarded by law.²¹ What is unexpected is the magnitude of the displacement of *paroikoi*, not the simple fact that they left the domain. That is well attested by other sources, as are the efforts of landlords to stop the *paroikoi* from leaving.²²

A comparison with some Western European data serves

²⁰ Ostrogorskij, *Paysannerie*, 68; Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité*, 68, 328; Kondov, "Demographische Notizien," 271-272. Dölger, "Sechs Praktika," 23-30, mentions the stability which several households exhibit, and Jacoby, "Démographie rurale," 185, considers the stability more significant than the migratory movement of the population.

²¹ Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, iv, 261-262; cf. E. Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Jus Graecoromanum*, I (Leipzig, 1856), *Peira*, xv, 2.

²² Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, iv, 261-262; II, 62.

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to place the Byzantine case in perspective. Some work has been done on the continuity of names in the town of Albi in the fourteenth century, and primarily in connection with the effects of the Black Death. It has been found that in one of the *quartiers* of that town, 78 percent of the names mentioned in 1343 had disappeared by 1357, while 49 percent of the names found in 1357 were new, suggesting that they identified immigrants who had entered the town since 1343.²³ This change in the population of the town was, of course, due to the catastrophic event of the plague. In the population of the monastic *paroikoi* of Macedonia, the percentages are certainly lower than those attested for Albi, but there was also no catastrophe of the magnitude of the plague. The catastrophic events of the period were the Catalan invasion of 1307–1309, which affected the census of 1320–1321, and the civil war between Andronikos II and Andronikos III which affected the census of 1338–1341. The effects of these wars, coupled with the fact that the *paroikoi* were poor and becoming progressively poorer, made mobile a significant part of the population. The mobility of the peasant in this period must be seen as a direct response to poverty and oppression. In other words, limited resources forced peasants to migrate.

It is possible to show that economic factors played a role in the mobility of the population. Table vi-11 lists the means for the most important kinds of property (*zeugaria* and vineyards) as well as for the household size and the tax of both time-series and non-time-series households. It will be seen that the size of the property owned and the tax paid was consistently and significantly higher for the time-series households than for the others. It should also be noted that in 1320–1321 the households which continued both back to 1300–1301 and forward to 1338–1341, that is,

²³ G. Prat, "Albi et la Peste noire," *Annales du Midi*, 64, 1952, 15–25; cf. Ph. Wolff, "Trois études de démographie médiévale en France méridionale," *Studi in onore di Armando Sapori* (Milan, 1957), 493ff., and Carpentier-Glénisson, "Démographie française," 117ff.

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the most stable households in the sample, had the highest averages of all. Thus, the households most likely to be stable ones were also the ones most likely to own a relatively large number of *zeugaria*, to possess relatively large parcels of vineyard, and to pay more than the average tax. Stated differently, this means that wealth was correlated with stability, and that the richer households were the most likely to remain in the village over time. It is also clear that the non-stable population, which appeared in only one census, consisted of households which, on the average, were poorer than the stable ones. This means that, as the rate of replacement of the population accelerated in the decades between 1320-1321 and 1341, the population of the monastic domains became poorer in a double process. Not only did the average holdings of the time-series households decline, but the population included a large proportion of newcomers, who were relatively poor. The decline in the collective wealth of the villages is intimately connected with the mobility of the *paroikoi*.

The mobility of the *paroikoi* was also connected with demographic factors. In all three *apographai*, the household coefficient for stable households is higher than that of households without continuity. Large households have more of a chance to continue over time, perhaps simply because the probability of at least one member surviving and forming a new household on the domain is greater than if the household were very small. Furthermore, there is a slight positive correlation between type of household and continuity over time. Table VI-12 indicates that the proportion of vertically extended families in 1320-1321 is somewhat higher among time-series households than in the population as a whole. While the correlation is not very strong, it is, nonetheless, of some interest.

The most unstable element in the population was the households consisting of *eleutheroi*. The reported number of such households is small, and thus not very useful for statistical analysis. However, the proportion of *eleutheroi*

TABLE VI-11

Average Property, Household Size, and Continuity of Households,
Theme of Thessaloniki

	Household Size	Voidia	Vineyards in Modioi	Tax in Hyperpyra
<i>1300-1301, Villages with Time-series to 1320-1321 and 1338-1341</i>				
Time-series Households ^a (n = 96)	5.4	1.4	2.3	1.3
Non-Time-series Households (n = 69)	4.1	0.6	1.1	0.69
<i>1300-1301, Villages with Time-series to 1320-1321 Only</i>				
Time-series Households (n = 151)	5.2	0.42	2.1	1.18
Non-Time-series Households (n = 90)	3.9	0.23	1.4	0.67
<i>1320-1321, Villages with Time-series to 1300-1301 and 1338-1341</i>				
Time-series Households to 1300, 1341 (n = 59)	4.25	0.75	2.1	1.2
Time-series Households, to 1341 (n = 11)	3.6	0.55	1.6	0.75
Time-series Households, to 1300-1301 (n = 61)	3.4	0.62	1.6	0.87
Non-Time-series Households (n = 44)	3.2	0.114	0.4	0.365

TABLE VI-11 (Continued)

	Household Size	Voidia	Vineyards in Modioi	Tax in Hyperpyra
	<i>1320-1321, Villages with Time-series to 1300-1301 Only</i>			
Time-series Households (n = 223)	3.9	0.48	1.24	1.12
Non-Time-series Households (n = 74)	3.9	0.3	0.9	0.89
	<i>1338-1341, Villages with Time-series to 1320-1321, 1300-1301</i>			
Time-series Households ^a (n = 84)	3.9	0.88	2.05	0.887
Non-Time-series Households (n = 54)	3.5	0.7	1.5	0.75
	<i>1338-1341, Villages with Time-series to 1320-1321 Only Insufficient Data</i>			

^aThis category includes households with time-series to one or two censuses.

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TABLE VI-12

Correlation Between Household Structure and Time-series, 1320-1321
(Villages with Time-series to 1300-1301 and to 1338-1341, and
Households with Time-series Forward, Theme of Thessaloniki)

	Nuclear	Vertically Extended	Laterally Extended	Fully Extended
Percent of Total Households	65%	18%	11%	5%
Percent of Time-series Households	54%	24%	17%	4%
n = 175				
Cramer's V = 0.2, Chi-square = 7.9, with 3 degrees of freedom ^a				

^aCramer's V, ranging from +1 to -1, measures the strength of association. Chi-square is a test of significance; the above results are significant at the 95 percent level. The results for 1300-1301, 1341, and 1320-1321 with time-series back, although showing the same trend, are not significant at the 95 percent level, and thus have not been presented here.

among time-series households was consistently lower than in the overall population. The clearest case of this is in 1320, in the domains of Iveron and in Stomion. Here the *eleutheroi* made up 15 percent of the number of households, but only 4 percent of them showed continuity to 1300-1301.²⁴ This poorest part of the population, and the one with the lowest household coefficient (3.5 in 1300-1301, 3.4 in 1320-1321) also exhibited the greatest mobility. Ostrogorsky has suggested that a distinguishing characteristic of the *eleutheroi* was that they were run-away *paroikoi*,²⁵ and their high mobility would seem to support his point. But, when the rest of the population is also seen to include people who moved in and out of the domain but who were not designated as *eleutheroi*, mobility can no longer be considered as a distinguishing feature of the category of "free" peasants.

The mobility of the *paroikoi* can best be isolated from

²⁴ The association between the status of *eleutheros* and mobility is fairly strong, as shown by the correlation coefficient $\phi = 0.43$.

²⁵ Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité*, 331, 333.

other demographic factors in the case of households which are newcomers in the domain, appearing in the *apographai* of 1320–1321 and 1338–1341. In other words, immigration can be posited here, without regard for other demographic factors. This cannot be done as easily with the households which disappear from the domain, that is, with emigration. Here, two demographic factors may be at work. The disappearance may be due to migration, or to the death of the members of the household or to both. It is not easy to isolate and estimate the precise proportion of disappearances due to deaths as opposed to those due to emigration. The high incidence of disappearance of households, however, would generally argue against the possibility that death was the only causative factor. While some few small households may have died out between censuses, it is unlikely that the death rate was such that over 20 percent or 30 percent of the households would die out within twenty years, in the absence of major disasters such as those wrought by the Great Plague in Western Europe. It is much more likely that the disappearance was due to a combination of death and emigration. An effort to isolate the migration factor is presented in appendix II.

In discussing migrations among the *paroikoi* of the monastic estates of Macedonia, it is important to distinguish between migrations within Macedonia and migrations which took place within larger geographical areas. It has already been shown that a study of the names of *paroikoi* reveals that by far the most numerous movement of migration took place within Macedonia itself.²⁶ The discussion here excludes those *paroikoi* who are listed on the *praktika*, but who are said to be living and working in an area other than the village to which they belong for fiscal purposes. These *proskathemenoi*, although they clearly moved physically from their original domain, continued to fulfill their fiscal obligations to their landlord, and continued to

²⁶ *Supra*, table iv-2; cf. Jacoby, "Démographie rurale," 180–185, and Kondov, "Demographische Notizien," 271–272.

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form part of the domain in fiscal terms. Their "migration," if such it may be called, was of a different nature from that of peasants who disappeared from the domain altogether.²⁷

The migration movement within Macedonia sometimes took place within monastic domains, whether these belonged to the same monastery or not. Thus, it is possible to find families whose members lived in different villages and domains.²⁸ The number is rather small, due probably to the state of the records which makes it difficult to establish identification of *paroikoi* outside a single domain. No doubt, much of this type of movement was legal and inevitable. Jacoby has pointed out that, given the high sex ratio in most villages and ecclesiastical prohibition of marriage between relatives, exogamy was inevitable.²⁹ The presence of members of the same family in different domains thus would be explained to a significant degree by exogamy.

The movement of people within Macedonia was also caused, in specific cases, by catastrophic events such as in-

²⁷ For this reason, I have not made the fact of stated residence outside the domain a factor in my estimation of time-series or non-time-series households. Jacoby, on the contrary, discusses this type of movement as an integral part of peasant migrations: "Démographie rurale," 183.

²⁸ For example, the family Mpouchalas, in Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 12 and Lavra, Gomatou, 1300, 57; Vasileios Stankos, Lavra, Selas, 1300, 1 and Lavra, Arsenikeia, 1321, 5; Manganares, Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 23 and, possibly, Lavra, Pinsson, 1321, 33; Vodinas, Iveron, Ierissos, 1301, 2 and Xeropotamou, Ierissos, 1315-1320, 13; Pachniatis or Pachnatis, Iveron, Ierissos, 1301, 4 and Xeropotamou, Ierissos, p. 1300, 1 and 1315-1320, 21, 22; Kakoioannes, Xeropotamou, Ierissos, p. 1300, 7, and Iveron, Ierissos, 1341, 6, 7; widow Xanto, Iveron, Ierissos, 1301, 1 and Zographou, Ierissos, 1300, 10; Peratikos, Iveron, Kato Volvos, 1301, 28, and Zographou, Epano Volvos, 1320, 3; Yaleas, Iveron, Gomatou, 1320, 31, and Iveron, Kato Volvos, 1317, p. 65, line 615; Stroumpitzenos, Iveron, Xylorygion, 1341, 3 and Iveron, Kato Volvos, 1341, 20, 23; Maroudesis, Lavra, Metalin, 1300, 28 and Lavra, Arsenikeia, 1321, 4; Rouchas, Iveron, Ierissos, 1301, 24 and Iveron, Gomatou, 1301, 3; Panaghiotes, Iveron, Ierissos, 1320, 25 and Gomatou, 1301, 28; Vlachoioannes, Zographou, Ierissos, 1300, 2 and Zographou, Symeon, 1300, 3. Cf. Jacoby, "Démographie rurale," 183.

²⁹ Jacoby, "Démographie rurale," 180. Cf. Topping, *Feudal Institutions*, articles 174, 182.

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vasions. It has already been noted that at the time of the Catalan invasions, the population of some villages such as Ierissos and Gomatou, which lay on the route taken by the Catalans declined, while that of villages situated in safer areas (Melintziani, for example), increased. The Catalan invasion was generally very destructive for both Thrace and Macedonia. In Thrace, it is said that the invaders so terrorized the countryside that the peasants could not leave their refuge in the fortified towns and cultivate the land for two entire years.³⁰ Furthermore, it must be remembered that because of the Catalans communications between Constantinople and Macedonia were interrupted between 1305 and ca. 1309. Thus, any enforcement of the laws regarding the movement of *paroikoi* by imperial officials must have been very difficult. During the years of the civil wars between the two Andronikoi (1321–1322, 1327–1328) the rural economy was disrupted once again. Kantakouzenos testifies that already in 1322 peasants were leaving their villages, and that no taxes could be collected from them.³¹ Once again, because of the civil war, the government lost control of the countryside. The peasants were forced to leave their homes, because of the instability and the razzias, and their movement was probably made easier by the absence of government control.

Conditions in the Byzantine countryside deteriorated even further in the course of the fourteenth century. In 1341, the censor who was registering the properties of the monastery of Iveron in the theme of Strymon noted that "the monastery held the *agridia* of Ovelos and Dovrovikeia . . . which are now uninhabited because of the Turkish attack. . . . Because the *paroikoi* of the said monastery have been made homeless by the enemy attack and have left and are living elsewhere, on the lands of various lay land-

³⁰ Gregoras, I, 262.

³¹ Cantacuzenus, I, 137–138: τὰ γὰρ δημόσια οὐκ ἐπράχθησαν, ἅμα μὲν διὰ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου ταραχὴν, ἅμα δ' ὅτι καὶ οἱ γεωργοί, ἐξ ὧν μάλιστα οἱ φόροι πρᾶττονται, τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέστησαν οἰκίῳν. . . .

lords and soldiers . . . , the monastery has the right to receive them back whenever it requests them. . . ."³² Similarly, in 1384, the Patriarch Neilos noted that many of the *paroikoi* of the church of Constantinople at Oikonomiou had left and gone elsewhere, because of enemy raids.³³ He could not hope to get these people back; but in 1341, when conditions in Macedonia were less chaotic, the monastery of Iveron had insisted on its right to reestablish its *paroikoi* on their own lands. There are thirteenth-century examples of Anatolian peasants returning to lands they had deserted because of the attacks of the Latins under Henry of Flanders.³⁴ It is quite possible that in Macedonia too the occasional exodus of peasants from their villages under the threat or the reality of enemy attacks was temporary, and that many of these peasants returned to their lands.

It was also frequently the case that run-away *paroikoi* did not return to their own domains, but settled elsewhere. It has been seen that there were some long-range migrations of peasants, since we can find in Macedonia people with names which suggest that their bearers had migrated from Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands of the Aegean.³⁵ Since there are no comparable sources from other parts of the Empire—except for the island of Lemnos—we cannot see whether there was movement of peasants from Macedonia to other regions.

We can, however, study the settlement of *paroikoi* within

³² Dölger, "Sechs Praktika," 119: διὰ τὸ εὐρίσκεισθαι νῦν ἄοικα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν Τούρκων . . . ἐπεὶ οἱ εἰς τὰ εἰρημένα ἀγρίδια . . . παροικοὶ τῆς τοιαύτης μονῆς ἐξωκίσησαν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιθέσεως καὶ ἀπήλθον καὶ προσκάρηται ἀλλαχοῦ ἐν διαφόροις ἀρχοντικοῖς καὶ στρατιωτικοῖς κτήμασιν, ὀφείλει τὸ μέρος τῆς τοιαύτης μονῆς, ἵνα, ὁπότε ἀναζητήσῃ, λαμβάνῃ ἀκωλύτως αὐτούς. . . .

³³ Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, II, 62.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 34-41.

³⁵ See *supra*, table IV-2. Sometimes, in the process of migration, entire villages became deserted. Hélène Antoniadis-Bibicou presents tables showing a large number (458) of deserted villages in the fourteenth century, mostly in Macedonia and Thrace; unfortunately, it is not clear how this estimate is arrived at: *Villages désertés en Grèce* (Paris, 1965).

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Macedonia. The study of names reveals that the majority of peasants who were identified by place of origin had moved within an area confined by Serres and Thessaloniki.³⁶ Many of these must have been *paroikoi* who had run away from their own domain, only to end up again as monastic dependent peasants. It is also possible that some of the peasants who disappear from our records—whether their disappearance be due to catastrophic or non-catastrophic factors—settled on land held by lay proprietors. The few extant *praktika* which list the possessions of military land-owners show that the average property of their dependent peasants was greater than that of monastic *paroikoi*. Unfortunately, the records are too few to allow us to determine whether the difference was due to the policy of lay landlords, or to other factors. Similarly, there is no clear evidence that monastic *paroikoi* who left their own domains habitually settled on the lands of lay proprietors; that is a strong possibility, but no more.

Invasions and instability in the countryside often caused a movement of peasants not only into safer rural areas but also into the fortified towns. At the time of the Catalan invasion, the inhabitants of Thrace found refuge in Constantinople, while some of the rural population of Macedonia fled into cities and towns, including Thessaloniki.³⁷ Whereas most of them probably returned to their villages after the attacks had ceased, some remained in the towns. Invasions also led to increased brigandage in the countryside. As the Catalans moved from Thrace to Macedonia, the countryside became infested with brigands. There were some areas which were particularly dangerous, even at

³⁶ Jacoby, "Démographie rurale," 183; cf. *supra*, chapter iv. The fact that much of the migration of monastic *paroikoi* seems to have taken place within Macedonia proper conforms to patterns of mobility which are visible in western Europe as well. People mostly moved only a few miles away from their place of origin: Mols, *Démographie historique*, II, 374.

³⁷ Georgii Pachymeres, *De Andronico Palaeologo* (Bonn, 1835), 482, 484, 529, 552, 590; Lady Goodenough, *The Chronicle of Muntaner* (London, 1920, 1921), chapter ccxxi.

times when there was no major invasion and no major civil war. Western Macedonia, in the vicinity of Strumitsa, was one such area.³⁸ It is probable that these brigands were mostly people who had access to arms, and were used to fighting, that is, people who formed part of the Byzantine army.³⁹ But it is possible too that with the countryside in conditions of anarchy, with production disrupted and with a changing population, some peasants became brigands.

Thus, peasants who left their domain without the consent of the landlord, settled either on other lay and monastic estates as dependent peasants, or in towns. The possibility may not be excluded that some left Macedonia altogether; and a few may have joined the ranks of brigands.

A study of the size and the mobility of the population of monastic *paroikoi* in Macedonia reveals certain important facts. It is clear that the descendants of monastic *paroikoi* were expected to stay on the domain. Inheritance of the status of *paroikos* applied, *de facto* at least, to all the descendants of the *paroikos*, as can be seen from the fact that several households were often formed by the descendants of one original household. It is equally evident that in many cases individuals or entire households left the domain, to go to other lay or ecclesiastical estates, or into the cities, where it is impossible for us to follow them. The monastic landlords, faced with a decline in revenues and in labor force because of this emigration, tried to respond to the situation by establishing new families on their domains. Some of these new families were *eleutheroi*,⁴⁰ some were

³⁸ Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, II, 223; Gregoras, I, 376-377. Cf. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Villages désertés*, 374-375; Každan, *Agrarnye otnošenija*, 180-181.

³⁹ Cf. C. Asdracha, "Formes de brigandage pendant la deuxième guerre civile byzantine au XIV^e siècle," *Études balkaniques*, 7 (1971), 118-120, for acts of brigandage by the soldiers of Didymoteichon in the 1340's.

⁴⁰ The number of available *eleutheroi* was probably declining by the 1340's, as can be surmised by the conflict, in 1348, between the convent of Alypiou and the *archontopouloi* of Serres for the possession of some *eleutheroi*: P. Lemerle, *Actes de Kutlumus* (Paris, 1945),

no doubt run-away *paroikoi*, some were peasants from the surrounding area who for some reason had not yet formed part of the monastic possessions, some were refugees from areas outside Macedonia. The success of the monasteries in this endeavor varied. Lavra seems to have been successful, especially in the case of the village Selas whose population increased between 1300 and 1321 by 69 households, causing an increase in the revenues of the monastery. While in 1300 the *oikoumenon* (the total of the *telos* paid by the peasants) of Selas was 106 *hyperpyra*, in 1321 it was 161 *hyperpyra*: it should be noted that on the average the tax had declined, since in 1321 the average *telos* was 1 *hyperpyron*, slightly less than the 1.15 *hyperpyron* which had been paid in 1300.

Other monasteries were not as successful as Lavra in preserving their peasant households and therefore their revenues. The *paroikoi* of Iveron in the theme of Thessaloniki declined in number over the years, and with the population decrease came a decline in revenues. In 1301, the monastery had collected 160 *hyperpyra* from the *paroikoi* of Gomatou, Kato Volvos, Xylorygion, Melintziani, and Ierissos;⁴¹ in 1320, the tax amounted to 138 and in 1341 to 110 *hyperpyra*. The average tax also was lower in 1341 than it had been in 1301: 1 *hyperpyron* in 1301, 0.97 in 1320, 0.89 in 1341. Thus, despite the fact that the monasteries made an effort to compensate for the disappearance of peasant households by introducing new *paroikoi* on their domains, these efforts often failed, and monastic revenues declined.

no. 21. Cf. the edict of Stephen Dušan to the monastery of Xeropotamou: Bompaire, *Xeropotamou*, no. 25. The monks are given permission to establish on their domains *eleutheroi*, if such people can be found. Cf. A. Guillou, *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome sur le mont Ménécée* (Paris, 1955), no. 38 (1345). Earlier, the monasteries had either been granted a certain number of *eleutheroi*, or been allowed to establish them on their domains: Petit, *Chilandar*, nos. 33 (1314), 41 (1319), 60, 62 (1320).

⁴¹ This figure refers only to the sum of the *telos* paid by each peasant household, and does not include supplementary taxes.

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It has already been seen that the typical Byzantine village in fourteenth-century Macedonia included a core of families which were related to each other, lived in relatively large households, and owned more than average property. The study of peasant households over time has revealed that along with this core, one of whose characteristics is continuity, there existed other households, smaller and poorer ones, which were relatively mobile. The poorest peasants, the *eleutheroi*, had the highest mobility. But even the established, stable households tended to lose some of their members through emigration. By the end of the period for which adequate documentation exists, the villages were poorer and smaller than they had been in the beginning of the fourteenth century, and their population included a large proportion of newcomers.

CHAPTER VII

Natural Movements of Population

ALL serious demographic analysis depends upon grouping the population according to sex and age.¹ The age pyramid, which is precisely such a classification of the population by age and sex, permits not only a static description of the population at a given moment, but also projections concerning the demographic future of the population. Knowing the proportion of men and women in the productive and reproductive age brackets is essential before one can estimate the labor potential of the population, as well as its rate of reproduction. Birth and death rates, age of marriage, and life expectancy are important demographic measurements which can only be determined properly if the age and sex structure of the population are known.

The available information on the monastic *paroikoi* of Macedonia is adequate for a determination of the sex structure of this population. Since most *praktika*, with only a few exceptions, register the entire peasant household and not merely the head of household, simple counting is needed to establish the proportion of men and women, or the sex ratio, which is the number of males per one hundred females. It has been argued occasionally that females were not registered as carefully as males. This argument springs

¹ R. Blanc, *Manuel de recherche démographique en pays sous-développés* (London, 1959), 15; R. Mols, *Introduction à la démographie historique des villes d'Europe du XIV^e au XVIII^e siècle*, II, 165-393, discusses natural movements of population and migrations. Also useful are the *Norman Wait Harris Memorial Foundation Reports of Round Tables on Population and Migration* (University of Chicago, 1929), I-III, and E. Van De Walle, "Marriage and Marital Fertility," *Daedalus* (Spring, 1968), 486-501.

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from the observation that the sex ratios, especially those of the younger segment of the population, are high, that is, there are more males than females.² Such a phenomenon is not rare in the Middle Ages, and it has several possible interpretations, such as high female mortality and female infanticide.³ Explaining the high sex ratios on the basis of under-registration of females can only be justified by the assumption that the censor was biased in his collection of the information, so that he was registering only selected parts of the population. If such selection were taking place, it could only be on the basis of tax responsibility or of labor potential. It has already been shown that women could and did assume the responsibility of paying taxes, specifically in the case of the many widows and the few unmarried females who functioned as heads of household. Thus, if women could assume fiscal responsibility, it is not reasonable to state that the censor under-registered women because they were not important from the viewpoint of taxation.

It has been suggested, however, that the censor registered primarily that part of the population which was capable of doing agricultural labor, that is, primarily males who were adults or in late adolescence.⁴ This view has already been found incorrect by other scholars, since it can be seen from the *praktika* that very young children were registered along with the rest of the population. This fact can be observed most clearly in those villages where a census was taken in 1317-1318 and then again in 1320-1321. In the second

² This argument has been made primarily by G. Ostrogorsky, *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine* (Brussels, 1954), 268-269, 300 n. 3, 334 n. 3, 336; it has been refuted by F. Dölger, "Sechs byzantinische Praktika des 14. Jahrhunderts für das Athoskloster Iberon," *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.—historische Klasse*, N. F. 28 (1949), 9, and by D. Jacoby, "Phénomènes de démographie rurale à Byzance aux XIII^e XIV^e et XV^e siècles," *Etudes rurales*, 5-6 (1962), 166-171.

³ On female infanticide in tenth-century France, see E. R. Coleman, "L'infanticide dans le Haut Moyen Age," *Annales, Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 29, 1974, 315-335.

⁴ Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité*, 268-269.

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census, some new children appear, who were not registered in the earlier census, and who clearly are very young, having been born in the space of the three or four years between censuses.⁵ Indeed, if one were to establish the net birth rate (number of children born and *surviving* in the course of these years) one would reach the figure of 22 per thousand net births per year, which is an acceptable figure in terms of a preindustrial population. It is clear, then, that the censurers were interested in registering not merely the actual labor force but also the entire population. If that is true, then there is no *a priori* reason for positing a systematic under-reporting of females. This view is supported by the overall sex ratio, which is shown in table VII-1.

In modern societies, the sex-ratio at birth is 105, but given a higher infant mortality for males than for females, it evens out in the course of a few years to become approximately 100.⁶ Table VII-1 shows that, although the sex ratio in Macedonia was above 100, it was generally quite close to that figure, insofar as the overall population is concerned. The very high sex ratio in the case of the younger people is to be explained by factors other than under-registration. Thus, although sporadic and unsystematic registration of females did exist, as is evidenced by the extremely high sex ratio of the *eleutheroi* in 1321, the census in general must be taken to reflect the real distribution of the population in terms of sex.⁷

It may be observed in the case of the village Gomatou that the population had a different sex structure in 1300-1301 than in 1321. In 1300-1301, there were more males than females among the *paroikoi* of both Lavra and Iveron;

⁵ Jacoby, "Démographie rurale," 166-171.

⁶ J. C. Russell, *Late Ancient and Medieval Population* (Philadelphia, 1958), 13-14.

⁷ On cases of clear under-registration, see Jacoby, "Démographie rurale," 167-171 and N. K. Kondov, "Demographische Notizien über die Landbevölkerung aus dem Gebiet des unteren Strymon in der ersten Hälfte des XIV Jahrhunderts," *Études balkaniques*, 1-3 (1965), 270-271.

TABLE VII-1
Breakdown of the Population According to Sex

<i>a. Main Sample, Theme of Thessaloniki</i>			
	1300-1301	1320-1321	1338-1341
M (Male)	1034	1877	330
F (Female)	902	1672	306
R (Sex Ratio = $\frac{M}{F} 100$)	115	112	108
M (Young)	606	873	139
F (Young)	410	626	101
R	148	139	138
n Households	407	957	173
<i>b. Gomatou, Domain of Lavra</i>			
	1300	1321	
M	156	201	
F	146	175	
R	107	115	
M (Young)	89	97	
F (Young)	57	67	
R	156	145	
n Households	78	104	
<i>c. Gomatou, Domain of Iveron</i>			
	1301	1320	1341
M	143	74	51
F	120	87	60
R	119	85	85
M (Young)	84	25	19
F (Young)	59	28	28
R	142	89	68
n Households	50	46	32
<i>d. Eleutheroi, Theme of Thessaloniki</i>			
	1300-1301	1320-1321	
M	68	51	
F	65	37	
R	105	138	
M (Young)	41	21	
F (Young)	26	6	
R	158	350	
n Households	38	26	

by 1320-1321, the sex ratio dropped significantly among the *paroikoi* of Iveron, while it rose somewhat among those of Lavra. If the data from Lavra had not been extant, one would have been tempted to explain the decline in the male population of Gomatou with reference to the Catalan campaign, which may have affected the male population. Given, however, that the sex ratio of part of the population of the village actually rose from 1300 to 1321, such an explanation is not possible.

Although the sex structure of our population is determinable without any great manipulation of the data, the same may not be said about the age structure. Only very occasionally do the *praktika* give an approximate indication of the age of a person, when, for example, they describe someone as *geron*, a word which may refer both to age and to the person's position in the village, or when they specifically speak of very young children.⁸ In the vast majority of cases, no age is given. An approximate age structure may be deduced from the data, but it must be emphasized that one is dealing here with approximations whose accuracy is uncertain. Subsequent analysis which depends on the age structure established here is presented with the knowledge that it is not definitive, and with the hope that it may stimulate further research in this very important area, where the documentation is not precise.

I have divided the population into three age groups, corresponding roughly to 45 years and older (Age III), 20-44 (Age II), and under 20 (Age I). In Age III, I have included people who are known to have married children and/or grandchildren, or who are designated as *gerontes*, or who, in the case of time-series households, appear in all

⁸ There is mention of "*παῖς ὑπομάζιος*" (still nursing? unbaptized?) in J. Lefort, *Actes d'Esphigménou* (Paris, 1973), no. 7, lines 3-4. A *praktikon* for the domains of Lemviotissa in Asia Minor mentions minors (*ἀνήλικος*): F. Miklosich, J. Müller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca mediae aevi*, IV, 13-14. For a limited discussion of the age of our *paroikoi*, see Jacoby, "Démographie rurale," 167-169, and Kondov, "Demographische Notizien," 269.

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three *apographai*: by the last *apographe*, they must be in the Age III category. These are older people, who have passed their reproductive peak and who are, or are rapidly becoming, unproductive in economic terms. Age II includes people who are at their peak productivity both in demographic and in economic terms. They are identified by the fact that they are married but have no married children; they may have living parents or not. In the case of time-series households, this category includes also people who appear in more than one *apographe*; by the time of the second *apographe*, they must be at least in the second age category, whether they are married or still unmarried. Age I includes people who are clearly young, such as children living with their parents, and people who are probably, but not certainly, young, such as unmarried brothers or sisters of Age II couples, living with their parents or with married siblings.

It will be readily seen that these criteria for the age distribution of the population are not, and cannot be, accurate. The most important source of error is probably the fact that the age structure as defined here is so closely tied to marriage and to visible children. There are two problems: first, it is not precisely known at what age the *paroikoi* usually married; and second, it is not certain that all of the population did marry. The first problem is critical, for it is a well-known fact that in peasant populations of pre-modern times the age of marriage could vary widely and that late marriages were the most effective means of birth control, when such control was necessitated by demographic or economic factors.⁹ Although it is known from Roman and Byzantine sources that people *could* marry and consummate the union after the age of thirteen (for girls) or fourteen (for boys),¹⁰

⁹ Kingsley Davis, "The Theory of Change and Response in Modern Demographic History," *Population Index*, 29 (1963), 347-349. It might be noted here that Jacoby too ("Démographie rurale," p. 169) ties age to marriage.

¹⁰ R. Schoell, ed., *Novellae, Corpus Iuris Civilis* (Berlin, 1963), xxii, 1-48, cxvii, 9; cf. M. Durry, "Sur le mariage romain," *Revue*

there is no proof or indication that such early marriages were usual. I have assumed here that men usually married at about the age of twenty, which is somewhat lower than that suggested by other students of medieval populations.¹¹ Women may have married earlier. In fact, the consistently high sex ratios of the younger people (see table VII-1) is most probably due to the fact that age, as I have calculated it here, is so closely tied with marital status, and girls married earlier than boys. Since the overall sex ratio is relatively close to normal, female infanticide may be ruled out as an important factor. But, it is entirely possible, and indeed probable that females married earlier than males, so that the age pyramid must be corrected. If we assume that males married at approximately age 20, then it is probable that females married at approximately age 15; thus, the Age I category includes males under 20 and females under 15, while Age II includes males over 20 and under 45, and females over 15 and under 45 years of age.¹² The differential age at marriage may be what is reflected in table VII-2. Here, the ratio of ever-married men to ever-married women should be close to 100. It is, however, usually lower than 100, due to two factors, differential age at marriage (resulting in more widows than widowers) and the fact that the censor registered all widows as such, but did not register the widowers as such.

Second, unmarried siblings or cousins residing in some-

internationale des droits de l'Antiquité, 3d ser., 3 (1956), 227-244 and K. Hopkins, "The Age of Roman Girls at Marriage," *Population Studies*, 18 (1964-1965), 309-327; cf. Ph. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, IV (1951), 75-78.

¹¹ Russell, *Late Ancient and Medieval Population*, 18-19.

¹² Jacoby, "Démographie rurale," 167-168 and n. 30, discusses the coming of age among the Byzantines, and says that it was at 25 years, although boys could exceptionally be declared of age at 20, and girls at 18. These legal definitions, however, do not necessarily have anything to do with marriage. Jacoby does not consider that earlier marriage for females than for males would be sufficient to explain the high sex ratio among the younger members of the population.

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TABLE VII-2

Ever-married Males and Females

a. <i>Main Sample, Theme of Thessaloniki</i>			
	1300-1301	1320-1321	1338-1341
M (Male)	420	857	167
F (Female)	492	1006	198
R (Sex Ratio = $\frac{M}{F}$ 100)	85	85	84
n Households	407	957	173
b. <i>Gomatou, Domain of Lavra</i>			
	1300	1321	
M	66	91	
F	89	104	
R	74	88	
n	78	104	
c. <i>Gomatou, Domain of Iveron</i>			
	1301	1320	1341
M	60	38	27
F	60	55	30
R	100	69	90
n	50	46	32

one's household are often taken here to belong to Age I, which rests on the assumption that most of the people who were of an age to marry did in fact do so.¹³ It is clear, however, that this assumption is not entirely accurate. Given the high sex ratios of the population, which show that there were fewer women than men, it must follow that, whereas most women could expect to marry, some men could not. Thus, it is possible that Age I is inflated to the expense of Age II, since some people who are counted as unmarried and young, are in fact unmarried, but no longer young.

Some of these difficulties are mitigated, although never completely resolved, if the time-series households alone are studied. Here, it is easier to establish approximate ages.

¹³ A similar assumption is made by Jacoby, "Démographie rurale," 167-169.

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For example, if a couple has three offspring in 1320-1321 and only one in 1300-1301, it can safely be said that one of these offspring is over twenty years old and two are younger than twenty. If an unmarried person is found in two *apographai*, it is clear that, whatever his age in the first *apographe*, he is over twenty years of age by the second *apographe*. Similarly, a couple who had had visible married children in the first census but who, in the next census appears with no children at all, obviously belongs to Age III, not to Age II.

Even in the case of time-series households, of course, there are certain biases, which are due to the fact that the censuses are so far apart in time. Thus, in the first *apographe*, of 1300-1301, the older group (Age III) is under-represented; since it is not always easy to determine which couples have had grown children, it is possible that Age II is inflated at the expense of Age III. This bias would be greater in the first *apographe* and smaller in the subsequent two, since more information is obtained about time-series households as time goes on. Similarly, the number of people in the Age I group may be exaggerated at the expense of Age II, for the general reasons stated above, and in connection with the problem of matrimonial status. While this bias would probably remain constant in all three *apographai*, there is a more specific bias, affecting primarily the first census, since it becomes easier to determine which unmarried people are young when information from all three *apographai* is collected.

The age statistics (see table VII-3) can be compared for validity to a model life table for stable populations. A life table is an actuarial device which gives the life expectancy and the death rates for a population at the moment of birth and at various subsequent ages. A stable population is defined as one in which the fertility and death rates are constant and the net migration is zero.¹⁴ In a stable population,

¹⁴ Ansley J. Coale and Paul Demeny, *Regional Model Life Tables and Stable Populations* (Princeton, 1966), 9-10.

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if the age structure and the growth rate of the population are known, all other demographic characteristics may be estimated. The population we are dealing with was, of course, not stable; apart from the fact that it is not yet clear whether the fertility rate was constant, it has already been observed that net migration was other than zero.¹⁵ However, the use of the life-table for even such populations as ours, allows one to create models and to see which demographic combinations best fit the observed data.

I have assumed that the population of Macedonian *paroi-koi* followed a Level 3 mortality table (Model South), which gives a life expectancy at birth of 25 years for females and 24.657 years for males. The population used in creating this life-table is southern European, of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. My choice of Level 3 rather than Level 2 (which posits a life expectancy at birth of 22.5 for females and 22.295 for males) is somewhat arbitrary, but falls well within the life expectancies suggested for late medieval England by Russell.¹⁶

The age structure in table VII-3 is given first in a raw form, as it emerges from the data. Subsequently, a small correction is made. Since the overall sex ratio is over 100, there are some males in Age I who are not young, but are unmarried, and are not easily differentiated from the rest of the males in that age category. By using the sex ratio, it is possible to correct this error to some extent, as has been done in table VII-4. Even with this correction, the age structure of the population as given in these tables is demographically improbable. Specifically, the number of old people (in Age III) is much too low, as can be seen by comparison with the model life tables. In mortality level 3, (females) at the extremely high rate of population growth

¹⁵ The age-specific death rate is considered to be constant in most pre-industrial populations under normal conditions.

¹⁶ The life tables suggested by Russell, for England before the Black Death, show various life expectancies at birth: 35.28, 31.3, 29.84, 27.22, which would give an average of 30.91, which is consistent with a Level 5 (South) mortality table.

TABLE VII-3
Age Structure of the Population (Uncorrected)

<i>a. Age Structure of Main Sample, Theme of Thessaloniki</i>			
	1300-1301	1320-1321	1338-1341
Age I	1023 (52%)	1499 (42%)	240 (37%)
Age I (Males)	611 (31%)	873 (24.5%)	139 (22%)
Age I (Females)	412 (21%)	626 (18%)	101 (16%)
Age II	809 (41%)	1753 (49%)	323 (51%)
Age III	120 (6%)	304 (8.5%)	73 (11%)
n Households =	407	957	173

<i>b. Age Structure of Main Sample, by Sex, Theme of Thessaloniki</i>			
	1300-1301	1320-1321	1338-1341
		<i>Males</i>	
Age I	611 (59%)	873 (47%)	139 (42%)
Age II ^a	365 (35%)	853 (45%)	157 (48%)
Age III ^a	55 (5%)	151 (8%)	34 (10%)
		<i>Females</i>	
Age I	412 (46%)	626 (40%)	101 (33%)
Age II ^a	426 (47%)	814 (51%)	168 (55%)
Age III ^a	64 (7%)	144 (9%)	37 (12%)

<i>c. Age Structure of Population of Gomatou, Domain of Lavra</i>		
	1300	1321
Age I	146 (49%)	164 (44%)
Age II	134 (45%)	183 (49%)
Age III	20 (7%)	29 (8%)
n	78	104

<i>d. Age Structure of Population of Gomatou, Domain of Iveron</i>			
	1301	1320	1341
Age I	143 (54%)	53 (33%)	47 (42%)
Age II	109 (41%)	86 (53%)	54 (49%)
Age III	11 (4%)	23 (14%)	10 (9%)
n	50	46	32

^aOnly the figures for Age I are entirely accurate. The others have been extrapolated from the total age structure, by use of the appropriate sex ratio.

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TABLE VII-4

Male Age Structure (Corrected for the Sex Ratio),
Theme of Thessaloniki,^a Main Sample

	1300-1301	1320-1321	1338-1341
Age I	519 (50%)	768 (41%)	128 (39%)
Age II	445 (43%)	942 (50%)	166 (50%)
Age III	67 (6%)	167 (9%)	36 (11%)

^aThe female age structure remains the same as in Table VII-3,a.

of 3.5 percent a year, we do find that the proportion of people over 45 is about 7 percent, as it is in the female population of our sample in 1300-1301.¹⁷ But in the model life table, at this rate of population growth, the rest of the age structure differs from the one given by our data (table VII-5). Furthermore, the birth rate in the model life table is 87.86 per thousand, which is significantly higher than the one attested in our data.

I suggest that, since our Age III category is the one in which most of the errors may be found, because of the reasons already mentioned, the most appropriate measure of the structure of the population is the proportion of people in Age I, which is 0-15 years for females and 0-20 years of age for males. Using this criterion, the model age structure which corresponds to a population growth of 20 per thousand (2 percent) is the one closest to our data for females in 1300-1301, while in 1320-1321 the age structure given by our data corresponds to a population growth rate of between 10 and 15 per thousand (1-1.5 percent). By 1338-1341, the age structure of our female *paroikoi* corresponds to 0 population growth; similarly, for the male population, the age structure in 1300-1301 corresponds to a growth rate of 1.5 percent and in 1321 to a growth rate of zero.¹⁸ The

¹⁷ The growth rate is the intrinsic rate of increase for 1,000 persons of the given sex. I have here changed the rates into percentages.

¹⁸ It will be evident that the age structure in the various censuses is the result of the demographic forces at work during the previous

TABLE VII-5

Stable Populations(Proportions up to Age [x], and Various Indices,
at Given Rates of Population Growth [R])

a. Model South, Females, Mortality Level 3							
Age R =	0.	5.00	10.00	15.00	20.00	30.00	35.00
1	3.31	3.79	4.3	4.84	5.39	6.55	7.15
5	12.63	14.33	16.11	17.94	19.82	23.65	25.57
10	22.52	25.26	28.08	30.94	33.82	39.50	42.28
15	31.84	35.31	38.82	42.31	45.75	52.36	55.49
20	40.72	44.65	48.55	52.36	56.04	62.91	66.06
25	49.05	53.21	57.24	61.11	64.78	71.44	74.40
30	56.81	60.96	64.93	68.66	72.14	78.26	80.90
35	63.98	67.97	71.70	75.14	78.29	83.69	85.95
40	70.59	74.26	77.63	80.69	83.43	88.00	89.86
45	76.67	79.91	82.82	85.42	87.71	91.41	92.88
50	82.24	84.95	87.34	89.44	91.25	94.10	95.20
55	87.26	89.38	91.22	92.80	94.14	96.19	96.96
60	91.63	93.14	94.42	95.51	96.41	97.75	98.24
65	95.15	96.10	96.89	97.54	98.07	98.84	99.10
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Birth r	40.00	45.92	52.22	58.85	65.78	80.32	87.86
Death r	40.00	40.92	42.22	43.85	45.78	50.32	52.86

b. Model South, Males, Mortality Level 3						
Age R =	5.00	0.	5.00	10.00	15.00	20.00
1	2.83	3.27	3.74	4.24	4.76	5.30
5	10.93	12.51	14.17	15.91	17.71	19.55
10	19.83	22.43	25.13	27.89	30.71	33.53
15	28.50	31.86	35.28	38.73	42.16	45.56
20	37.03	40.91	44.79	48.62	52.37	56.00
25	45.26	49.42	53.50	57.47	61.28	64.89
30	53.09	57.31	61.40	65.28	68.94	72.35
35	60.54	64.64	68.54	72.18	75.54	78.62
40	67.60	71.42	74.98	78.25	81.21	83.86
45	74.22	77.62	80.73	83.52	86.01	88.20
50	80.34	83.20	85.77	88.04	90.02	91.73
55	85.84	88.11	90.10	91.82	93.29	94.54
60	90.61	92.25	93.66	94.85	95.86	96.69
65	94.47	95.51	96.40	97.13	97.73	98.22
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Birth r	35.03	40.56	46.49	52.81	59.47	66.42
Death r	40.03	40.56	41.49	42.81	44.47	46.42

Source: A. J. Coale and P. Demeny, *Regional Model Life Tables and Stable Populations* (Princeton, 1966).

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age structure of the stable populations presented here may be taken as an indication of the *real* age structure of the Macedonian *paroikoi*, which is otherwise invisible to us, because of the rudimentary nature of our data.

The information which may be gleaned from the model-life tables is helpful only to a limited extent. It merely allows us to discuss the possible demographic structure of the population. It should be seen as an aid, and not as an exact description of the population. It is encouraging, however, that the birth rates given by the life tables for the rates of growth which have been mentioned are fairly close to the estimated birth rate of our population.¹⁹ It should be noted also that according to the model, the age structure of our data after 1300–1301 corresponds either to low rates of population growth or to zero population growth.²⁰ This very important point can be seen even without reference to the life tables, from an examination of the data given in tables VII-3 and VII-4 and represented in graph VII-1.

It is clear from these tables that the age structure of our population changed significantly from 1300–1301 to 1338–1341. The proportion of older people in the population increased, as did that of people in the middle-age category. This increase took place at the expense of the younger element of the population, which experienced a decline. It will be remembered that the data given in these tables are incorrect, and must not be seen as describing accurately the

20 or 25 years. Thus, the age structure in 1300–1301 does not mean that the female part of the population at that point was experiencing a growth rate of 2% per year, but that it had *already* experienced this growth. In the same manner, the age structure in 1320–1321 shows the growth rate of the population in the period 1300–1321, and the age structure in 1338–1341 shows the demographic factors at work between 1320 and 1341. Thus, the female population experienced a growth rate of 1 percent to 1.5 percent per year in 1300–1301, which had become zero in 1321; the male population had a growth rate of 0 as early as 1300, and had a slightly negative rate by 1321.

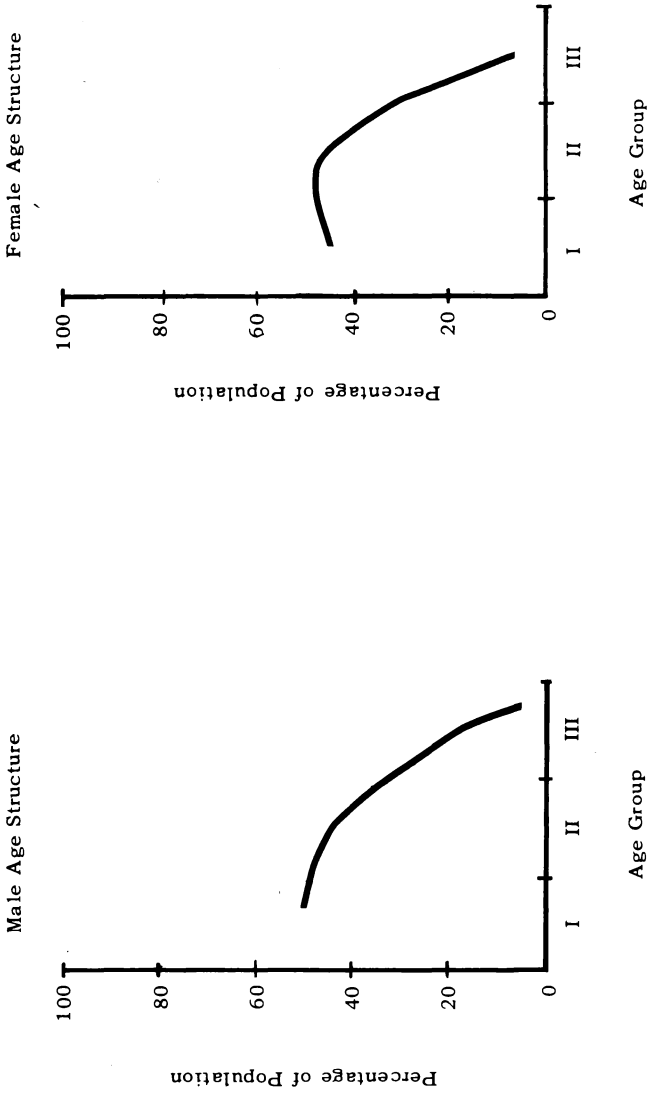
¹⁹ *Infra*, pp. 292–294.

²⁰ For a similar conclusion reached in a different manner, see N. K. Kondov, "Demographische Notizen," 266–269.

GRAPH VII-1

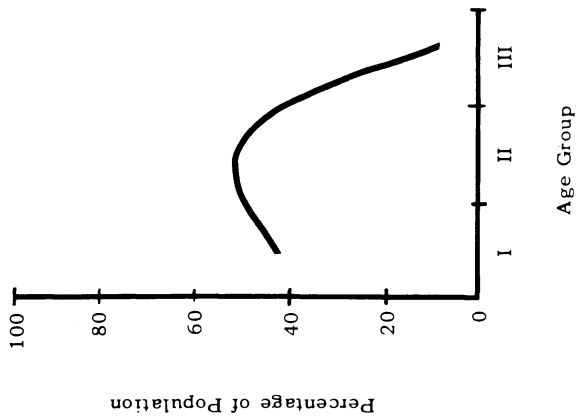
Age Structure of the Population of the Main Sample
(Corrected for the Sex Ratio)

1. 1300-1301

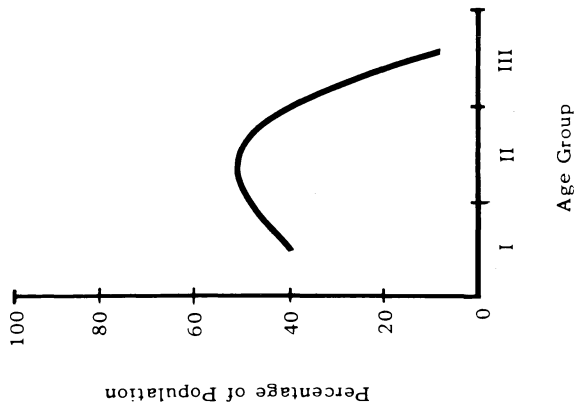


2. 1320-1321

Male Age Structure

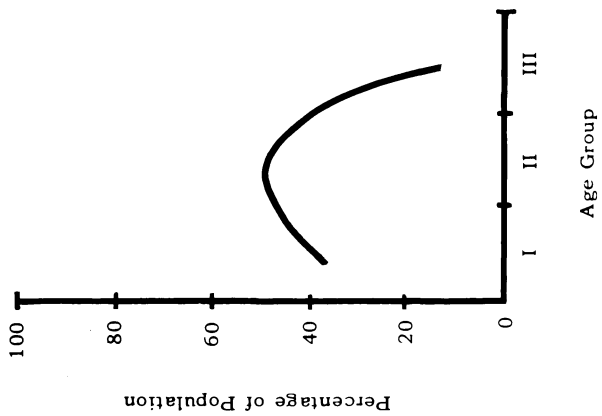


Female Age Structure

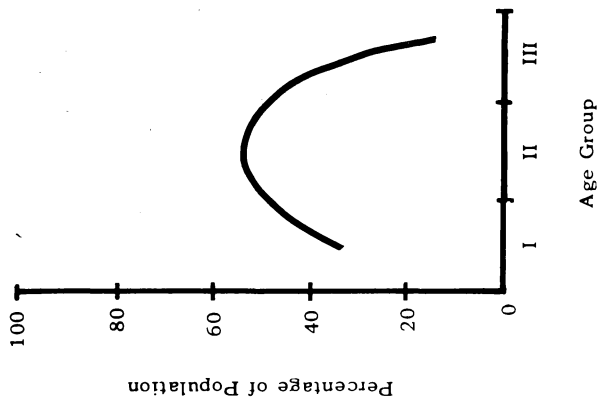


3. 1338 - 1341

Male Age Structure



Female Age Structure



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population. But if it is assumed that the biases are the same in the three *apographai*, then the data are valuable for the purposes of comparison. Therefore, the changes shown in the data may be taken to reflect a real change in the population.

In the short term, the change in the age structure shown here is a positive one, both in demographic and in economic terms. For the tables show that the proportion of people in the age group which was most productive both demographically and economically increased over time. However, potentially and in the long term, the population change, if unchecked, would lead to difficulties. The older age group, consisting of essentially unproductive people, increased as a proportion of the population, while the younger age group, the future labor force, decreased. Thus, after 1341, if the present trend continued, the proportions of those who were no longer productive, but had to be fed (the surviving members of the large Age II group plus any surviving members of Age III) would increase even as the proportion of those at peak working capacity (Age I in the tables) would be lower than during the previous forty years.²¹

The proportionate decline in the number of younger people in the population also can be expressed in different

²¹ Given that our determination of the age structure is closely tied to marital status, it might be argued that the data shown on tables VII-3 and VII-4 have exactly the opposite significance from the one presented in the text, that is, that Age I appears smaller simply because more people married earlier; this would have the ultimate effect of actually increasing the birth rate, and thus the proportion of young people in the population, with a concomitant increase in the labor force. While this possibility certainly exists, I consider it unlikely for the following two reasons: (1) in the time-series households, where the age structure is less intimately connected to marital status, the observed trend is the same as in the general population; (2) all the other indicators, particularly the number of children per couple and the number of total offspring of each generation of *paroikoi* also decline over time, thus giving corroborative evidence to the observation that the reproduction rate of the population tended to decline over time.

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terms, simply by counting the number of young people per household. The biases and difficulties remain the same as those which have already been described in connection with the determination of the age structure of the population. Once again, however, assuming that the biases remain the same in all three *apographai*, it is possible to reach conclusions concerning the comparative increase or decrease over time in the number of younger people per household. Table VII-6 shows these averages, both for the theme of Thessaloniki and the theme of Strymon. As would be expected, in the theme of Thessaloniki there is a sharp decrease in the number of young people per household, especially between 1300-1301 and 1321. It is to be noted that time-series households on the average had a much larger number of young people than did non-time-series households. It is to be remembered that table VII-6 does *not* indicate the number of children per couple, since it measures all young people resident on the household, not the offspring of a nuclear family.

It is, of course, possible to calculate the number of children per couple (see table VII-7) although here too some caution should be exercised. First, it should be observed,

TABLE VII-6
Number of Young People Per Household

a. <i>Theme of Thessaloniki, Main Sample</i>			
	Uncorrected		Corrected for the Sex Ratio
1300-1301	2.5	n Households = 407	2.3
1321	1.6	n Households = 957	1.5
1338-1341	1.4	n Households = 173	1.3
b. <i>Theme of Strymon, Uncorrected^a</i>			
1316-1317	1.65	n Households = 258	
1336-1341	1.86	n Households = 276	

^a This sample includes the villages of Radolivous and Voriskos, from Dölger, "Sechs Praktika," *praktika* RK and RV, and the village Prinarion from Lavra, Collège de France, nos. II, 36 (1317), and 138 (1336).

TABLE VII-7
Number of Children Per Household,
Per Age-Differentiated Couple

		<i>a. Main Sample, Theme of Thessaloniki</i>		
		1300-1301	1320-1321	1338-1341
Age II	Couples	385	820	156
	Sons	459 (1.19) ^a	694 (0.85)	106 (0.68)
	Daughters	329 (0.855)	511 (0.6)	77 (0.5)
	Total	788 (2)	1205 (1.47)	183 (1.2)
Age III	Couples	80	191	45
	Sons	132 (1.65)	213 (1.1)	54 (1.2)
	Daughters	98 (1.225)	160 (0.84)	45 (1)
	Total	230 (2.9)	373 (1.95)	99 (2.2)
		<i>b. Gomatou, Domain of Lavra</i>		
		1300	1321	
Age II	Couples	70	90	
	Sons	68 (0.97)	79 (0.88)	
	Daughters	49 (0.7)	57 (0.63)	
	Total	117 (1.67)	136 (1.5)	
Age III	Couples	15	22	
	Sons	25 (1.67)	26 (1.2)	
	Daughters	12 (0.8)	16 (0.73)	
	Total	37 (2.5)	42 (1.91)	
		<i>c. Gomatou, Domain of Iveron</i>		
		1301	1320	1341
Age II	Couples	49	42	26
	Sons	69 (1.4)	18 (0.43)	15 (0.58)
	Daughters	46 (0.9)	26 (0.62)	24 (0.92)
	Total	115 (2.3)	44 (1.05)	39 (1.5)
Age III	Couples	9	16	6
	Sons	11 (1.22)	15 (0.94)	4 (0.67)
	Daughters	15 (1.67)	11 (0.69)	8 (1.3)
	Total	26 (2.9)	26 (1.63)	12 (2)

^aNumbers in parentheses represent sons or daughters per couple, per household.

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that the figures presented in table VII-7 represent a minimum, since we can only count the number of children which survived and were inscribed on the *praktikon*. The couple doubtless had other children too, who died before they were registered. Second, it should be made clear that the number of children per couple differs from the number of young people per household; several of the children of one couple may have left the household, while on the household there may be young nephews or nieces or siblings of the head of household, who may be young but they may certainly not be counted as the children of the householder and his wife. These points should be stressed, since the birth rate of the Byzantine *paroikoi* has been miscalculated several times because of a mistake originally made by Ostrogorsky and compounded by others.

A characteristic entry for a household is: "Konstantinos Chalkeus has wife Eirene, son Georgios, daughter Maria." This entry is misleading in the sense that it may be interpreted as meaning that George and Maria were the couple's only children. It is evident that the couple may have had other children who died unrecorded, or who were old enough, at the time of the *apographe*, to have married and become difficult to trace (especially in the case of girls), or to have emigrated. The couple might be at the beginning or the middle of its fertility period at the time of the *apographe*; in this case, it should be expected to have more children than the two recorded here. Thus, it is somewhat easier to calculate the real number of children per couple in the time-series households. In any case, one should not try to estimate the birth rate ($\frac{B}{P}$ 1,000: births per 1,000 population) simply from the number of recoverable children per couple. Ostrogorsky found that in the Slavic *praktikon* for Chilandar there were 1.69 children per couple per household, and found the birth rate derived from this incredibly low. Ostrogorsky's estimate of children per couple was cited by Jenkins as evidence of low birth rate in the fourteenth

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century, and then Hollingsworth picked up the fictitious number and elaborated on it, arriving at an equally fictitious mean of 2.53 surviving children per family, whereas in fact what he was rather measuring was the number of young people per household.²²

Kondov, on the other hand, has been more careful in his measurements. He distinguishes between a couple's natural offspring and other young people living on the household. His means for children per couple do not include children who have left the household but can be recovered elsewhere in the census. By using the formula $I = n - 2$, where I is the number of children per couple, n is the number of members in a nuclear family and 2 represents the couple, he suggests that, although in 1300–1301 I was greater than 2, and there was, therefore, a natural population increase, by 1341 there was negative growth, since I was less than 2. The decline is already apparent in 1316 (in the data from the monastery of Iveron in the theme of Strymon), and reaches its lowest point in 1321.²³ According to his calculations, the average number of children per couple was 2.2 in 1300–1301, 1.6 in 1316, 1.45 in 1321, and 1.69 in 1341.

In table VII-7 I have differentiated between older couples, with grown children resident in the same household, and couples of an approximate age of 20–45 years. I have listed the number of children such couples had, who resided in the same household, and have given both the absolute numbers and the means. It will be seen that the means for the younger age group differ only slightly from those established by Kondov, the only significant difference being that the lowest mean is encountered in 1341 and not in 1321. If the age differentiation is not taken into account, then the means become very close to Kondov's, with 2.2 for 1300–

²² Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité*, 268–269, n. 5; R.J.H. Jenkins, "Social Life in the Byzantine Empire," *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. iv, part II (1967), 94–95; Hollingsworth, *Historical Demography*, 114–115; A. P. Každan, *Agrarnye otnošenija v Vizantii XIII–XV vv.* (Moscow, 1952), 41–42.

²³ Kondov, "Demographische Notizien," 266–268.

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1301, 1.56 for 1320–1321 and 1.4 in 1338–1341; the lowest point still comes in 1341, but the difference between the means for 1321 and for 1341 is so small, both in Kondov's calculations and in mine, that it may not have a statistical significance.

The significance of these numbers lies in the fact that they show that, whereas couples seem to at least reproduce themselves in 1300–1301, they no longer do so by 1320–1321, and in 1338–1341. This conclusion agrees perfectly with the interpretation of the data presented in tables VII-3 and VII-4, but has the advantage of being drawn upon much less debatable information.

It already has been noted that the number of children resident in a household do not necessarily form a couple's entire surviving progeny. In order to arrive at a more accurate estimate of the number of children a couple had in its entire existence as a couple, one must take the time-series households, and record the number of children born to a couple and recorded not only in one census but in any census in which such children appear; furthermore, all offspring, regardless of residence, must be taken into account. The resulting number of children per couple is the net reproduction rate of the population, and is presented in table VII-8.

For the purposes of this calculation, the population has been divided into three distinct generations. W_1 consists of the people who form couples in the census of 1300–1301; they may be heads of household, or living in someone else's household. Being grown adults, the males are over 20 years of age, and the females over 15; if the average age of this group is even as low as 25, by 1320–1321 it becomes 45, so that the women may be assumed to stop reproducing at about this date. By 1338–1341 the average age of the group is 65, and the group has certainly passed its reproductive age. This fact is evident in the table where each couple of the W_1 generation is recorded every time it appears in a census. It is readily seen that the greatest number of gen-

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TABLE VII-8

The Net Reproduction Rate
(Number of Offspring Per Couple Per Generation)

a. Villages with Time-series to Two Censuses, Theme of Thessaloniki				
		1300-1301	1320-1321	1338-1341
W ₁	Couples ^a	236	106	8
	Male Offspring	2	2.1	1.4
	Female Offspring	1.5	1.6	1.6
	Total Offspring	3.5	3.7	3
W ₂	Couples ^a	73	233	41
	Male Offspring	1.4	1.2	1.3
	Female Offspring	1	0.9	1
	Total Offspring	2.4	2.1	2.3
W ₃	Couples ^a	3	20	35
	Male Offspring		0.95	0.5
	Female Offspring		0.65	0.4
	Total Offspring		1.6	0.9
b. Total Average of Offspring per Couple per Generation				
		Uncorrected	Corrected	
	W ₁	3.5	3.5	
	W ₂	2.3	3.06	
	W ₃	1.15	2.15	

^aAll children of a couple have been counted, every time they appear on an *apographe*. The uncorrected averages in Table VII-8, b consist of the average number of offspring per couple per generation, from the information given in all three *apographai*.

eration W₁ couples appear on the first census, whereas by the third census only 8 couples remain. Their children, however, may be recoverable in all three censuses. The second generation, W₂, consists of the children of W₁. Some of them are already grown and married in 1300-1301; these are, however, rather few, and the greatest number of W₂ couples appears in the census of 1320-1321. Their average age in 1320-1321 is difficult to determine, but it was probably close to 25; in that case, their fertile years would be coming

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at an end around the year 1341. Thus, by 1341, generation W_1 had certainly finished its reproductive cycle and generation W_2 had almost finished it. Such is not the case with the next generation, the grown and married offspring of W_2 . The number of such couples is small, and is predictably larger in 1338–1341 than in 1320–1321. However, since the couples which were recorded in the census of 1320–1321 had twenty years of fertility before the census stopped, their average number of children is probably more reliable an index than is that of couples which appear for the first time on the census of 1338–1341, and who may be at the very beginning of their reproductive cycle. It is clear that the data for W_3 have to be corrected.

The least arbitrary way of establishing a correction factor, is to take the two generations for which fuller information exists (W_1 and W_2) and compare the number of offspring they seem to have if seen *only* in the census of 1300–1301, to the number of offspring they are seen to have when they are followed down to the census of 1338–1341. If we were working with W_1 's offspring from data given in 1300–1301, the number obtained would be 33 percent lower than the 3.5 children per couple which become visible when the observations extend to all three censuses. Similarly, for generation W_2 , if only the data for 1300–1301 were known, we would need a correction of 87 percent before the final figure of 2.3 children per couple could be reached. Using the largest correction factor (87 percent) on W_3 , we find that the youngest generations which our data allow us to examine would have approximately 2.15 children per couple in the course of their fertile years. These, of course, are not children born, but children surviving long enough to be inscribed on the census; the true number of children born must have been much higher than the figures presented in table VII-8.

The information which is being examined here presents the most persuasive and striking evidence of decline in the

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population of the monastic *paroikoi* of Macedonia in the fourteenth century.²⁴ Since residence in the household is not a factor here, and since couples are followed over time, the data in table VII-8 are much closer to the true net reproduction rate of the population than are Kondov's calculations. They do, however, tell the same story as the other indices we have examined: the age structure and the number of children per couple per household. They are also in accord with the information gleaned from the life tables, which predicts zero population growth by 1320-1321. At the very best, it can be said that by 1341 the population was barely reproducing itself; it is more than likely that the correction factor used for W_3 is too generous, and that the population was in fact experiencing negative growth by 1341. Indeed, it is probable that the net reproduction rate presented here is much too optimistic, because it bears only on time-series households. Such households had consistently higher numbers of children per couple than did the rest of the population. Therefore, for the population as a whole, the net reproduction rate must have been significantly lower than the one presented in table VII-8; if such is the case, then the population certainly experienced negative growth by 1341 and probably by 1320-1321.

The reasons for this dramatic decline in the number of children born and surviving on monastic domains (from 3.5 to 2.15 in 40 years) are probably complex. Clearly, the uncertainties of the first decade of the fourteenth century and the civil war of the 1320's had very unsettling effects on the rural population. Also we are clearly witnessing not only a movement of people out of the monastic domains but also a decline in the birth rate. Unfortunately, the birth rate (number of live births per 1,000 population per year) can only be estimated for the years 1317-1321, by which time it was probably lower than at the beginning of the century.

By using the *praktika* of the monastery of Iveron, Jacoby

²⁴ The data given here are independent of the age structure of the population, and therefore inherently more reliable.

has estimated a net birth rate for the years 1317–1320. Since there are two *apographai*, three years apart, covering most of the domains of Iveron, it is possible to count the number of children born after 1317 and before 1320, and surviving to the census of 1320.²⁵ The ratio between the number of such children and the total population in 1317 gives the net birth rate, which Jacoby has estimated at 22 per thousand per year.²⁶ As Jacoby recognizes, this figure is not entirely accurate because it assumes that the adult population remained unchanged in the course of these three years, which is manifestly untrue, but the error is minimal. If one adds the data from the monastery of Esphigmenou, where there were also two censuses close together (January 1318 and December 1321), the net birth rate of 22 per thousand remains unchanged.²⁷ The crude birth rate, that is the number of births per population of 1,000 per year ($\frac{B}{P} k$, where $k = 1,000$), was much higher than the net birth rate, because of the high infant mortality of pre-modern populations. In order to arrive at an estimate of the crude birth rate, it is advisable to use the model life tables. For mortality level 3 (model South), the life tables show that approximately 49

²⁵ Jacoby, "Démographie rurale," 165–168. The *praktikon* K of Iveron is dated November 1317, while P is dated September 1320. It has already been established that, despite Ostrogorsky's statement that only adults were registered in the census, all children, even sometimes children not yet baptized, were certainly registered in the census: Jacoby, *ibid.* Cf. Dölger, "Sechs Praktika," 9, n. 7. Of course, this is not to negate an unsystematic underregistration of children. Even modern censuses are not accurate in this respect, and although they are supposed to record all live births, they usually do not do so.

²⁶ Jacoby, "Démographie rurale," 167; he mentions that the rate of 22 per thousand is close to the rates of 30 to 45 per thousand established by R. Mols, *Démographie historique*, II, 280–287, 537.

²⁷ In the village of Krousovo, Theodoros Gelbeas who was unmarried in 1318, had two sons in 1321; Demetrios Myaris, also unmarried in 1318, had a son and a daughter in 1321; Kale the wife of Michael Panaghiotes, had no visible children in 1318, but she had one daughter in 1321; Ioannes Dovronas had two sons and two daughters in 1318; by 1321, his two daughters (Anna and Kale) have disappeared, and he has another daughter, Zoë: Lefort, *Esphigménou*, nos. 14 (1318), 15 (1321).

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percent of both male and female children die before the age of five. Our data are for a smaller period (the oldest children must be between three and four years of age), but given that the highest mortality strikes infants in the first year of life, it is reasonable to suggest that the children which appear in our records are approximately half the number of children born between 1317 and 1321. Thus, the crude birth rate would be approximately 44 per thousand per year.

The crude birth rate is a useful characteristic of the population, if only because it simplifies further demographic analysis. It may be noted in this respect that a crude birth rate of 44 per thousand per year for the years 1317-1321 corresponds quite well with a population which had experienced a growth of .5 per cent, according to the life tables. It will be remembered that the age structure of our population corresponded to a growth rate of between 1 and 1.5 percent for females and 0 for males in 1300-1301 and 1320-1321. Thus, it would seem that the model created by use of the life table is quite a good approximation of the actual demographic structure of our population, always with the *caveat* that our population is not a stable one. Therefore, since the model life tables for mortality level 3 are seen to approximate the actual structure of the population, it follows that further demographic information from the life tables may be applied to our data. Such an application, with a further use of the crude birth rate, is made in appendix II.

The implications of the demographic trends discussed above may become clearer if applied to the life of an individual. I will take a fictitious female baby, born in the village of Gomatou in 1300, and later baptized Maria, and follow her life from the moment of birth to the moment of death.²⁸ At the moment of her birth, Maria could expect to live a total of 25 years; however, after she had survived the

²⁸ This "demographic portrait" is based on the data given in chapters VI and VII, and on information drawn from the model life table, mortality level 3 (South).

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first very hazardous year, her life expectancy rose to 33 years, and by the time she was five, she could expect to live another 42.5 years. She was a lucky baby to have survived. That year, a total of 32 babies were born in the village, and eight of them died before reaching the age of one. More girls than boys died, because girls were probably weaned earlier than boys, and in general were given less attention.²⁹

By the time Maria was 5 years old, 16 of the babies had died; she had had an almost equal chance of reaching that age, or dying.

When she was growing up, she was living through many unsettling experiences. When she was 7, the Catalans invaded Macedonia, and probably attacked her village, taking the crops, burning the fields, stealing the animals. Even if she did not see the Catalans, she suffered from the destruction they caused in the general area in which her village was situated. Her acquaintance with death was close and constant. One or two more of her friends and contemporaries died between the ages of 5 and 15; some of her grandparents probably died and perhaps some aunts and uncles. Other people left the village, so that by the time she was 21, and the census-taker came to the village, 38 percent of the households she had known had disappeared, being only partly replaced by new households. The households which remained also lost some individual members, for some people left to get married in other villages, and others disappeared, either to a town or to another domain.

At 15, Maria was ready to marry. Her father, being one of the less poor people in the village, was able to give her a dowry, consisting of a plot of vineyard and a *voidion*, and she married another villager, a few years older than herself. She now entered the child-bearing age, which would continue until she was 40 or 45. She could expect to have quite

²⁹ The demographic trend today is for a higher infant mortality for boys, but this assumes that equal care is given to the two infants. The relatively high sex ratio of our population suggests differential care. Cf. Coleman, "L'infanticide," p. 330.

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a lot of children. Given that gestation takes 9 months, assuming that she nursed her children for an average of 1.5 years, and given also that breast-feeding is a fallible but fairly good way of controlling births, it may be assumed that she would be able to bear a child every two or 2.5 years. *In toto*, she would be able to bear 12 or 15 children. She might even want to bear that many children. For, if she wanted to make sure (at the 94 percent probability level) that *at least one* daughter would survive to age 30, she would have to bear six daughters or a total of 12 children.³⁰

Maria, then, would bear many children, losing several of them. She would be lucky if her mother were still surviving, to help her through the difficult times of childbirth and child-rearing. Most probably, by the time she was 20 and her mother was about 40, the mother would have died. Maria also would be an exceptional case if both she and her husband survived her child-bearing years. Of her contemporary females, 71 percent would have died by the time she reached 45; her husband (five years older than she) would have seen 74 percent of his contemporaries die when he reached the age of fifty. Having survived to the end of her reproductive cycle, Maria might expect to live for another 20 years, reaching the age of 65.

She might, of course, live even longer, assuming that she survived both the hazards of childbirth and the various natural and man-made hazards. By the time she was forty-five years old (1345), she would have lived through one civil war (between Andronikos II and Andronikos III). The more disastrous civil war between John VI Kantakouzenos and the regency for John V Palaiologos was still going on, causing much destruction of property and perhaps of life. In 1347, the plague would strike, and although its effects would be most concentrated in the cities, the village popu-

³⁰ From the life table we see that at mortality level 3, 63 percent of the females would not survive to age 30. The probability of all 6 daughters not surviving to age 30 is: $p(6 \text{ daughters not surviving}) = (.63)^6 = 0.0625 = 6.25 \text{ percent}$.

lation too may have been somewhat affected. The exodus from the village continued, and her property, like that of other *paroikoi*, was reduced. If she lived into the second half of the fourteenth century, she would experience the effects of Turkish and Serbian invasions, and more civil wars.³¹ We cannot follow the results of these catastrophes on the demographic structure of the village, because there are few documents from the second half of the fourteenth century. We do, however, know of the disasters wrought by foreign invaders, by poor weather, by the plague, by the ever-present tax-collector whom the peasants hated.³² We know too of a progressive depopulation of the countryside under the influence of all these disasters.

Maria, from the village of Gomatou, would most probably have died before reaching old age. She could, however, have been one of the very few who lived until they were very old. The human life span does not change very much over time, and it was then, as now, probably around 100 years.³³ There is at least one known case of a Macedonian peasant woman who lived to be over 80; she was described

³¹ Gregoras mentions the catastrophic effects of the civil war and the Serbian and Turkish invasions upon the population of Macedonia and Thrace in 1345: the invaders, he says, killed flocks, horses, donkeys and oxen, so that the land lay abandoned and uncultivated, and totally deserted by people: Gregoras, II, 747-748: *κάντευθεν ἀσπόρου τε καταλειμμένης τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐρήμου παντάπασι*. . . . In 1344, bad weather, rain, and hail destroyed the crops and made the land uncultivable for a long time: Gregorae, Nicephorii, *Byzantina Historia*, II, 711-712; cf. *ibid.*, 751-752. In 1347 the plague struck, lasting for one year in the continental possessions of the Byzantine Empire, and then spreading to the islands of the Aegean, Rhodes, and Cyprus: Gregoras, II, 797-798: *ἐκενοῦντο δ' οἰκίαι πλείσται καθάπαξ τῶν οἰκητόρων ἀπάντων μιᾶς ἡμέρας*. Cf. Cantacuzeni, Ioannis, *eximperatoris, Historiarum libri IV*, III, 49-53. On the many villages which became entirely deserted in the course of the fourteenth century, see H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, "Villages désertés en Grèce," in *Villages désertés* (Paris, 1965).

³² On the tax-collectors, see R.-J. Loenertz, O.P., *Démétrius Cydonès, Correspondance*, I (Vatican, 1956), oration to John Palaeologus, 15.

³³ Russell, *Late Ancient and Medieval Population*, 33.

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as being extremely old. If the woman whose life we are following survived to this venerable an age, she probably would be called as witness when disputes between peasants or between landlords took place, and there was need of someone who remembered how things had been several decades earlier.³⁴

The life of the Macedonian peasant in the fourteenth century was very difficult. He was oppressed; he had little property and little freedom, and was at the mercy of natural and human hazards. Death was a constant companion. Disease had played an important role in the shortness of life of the peasant population; but economic exploitation and political upheavals exacerbated the already difficult conditions of existence.

³⁴ As was the case with the eighty-year-old inhabitant of Komitissa: W. Regel, E. Kurtz, B. Korablev, *Actes de Zographou, Vizantiiskij Vremennik*, 13 (1907), appendix, no. xxxviii (1348), p. 91.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Lay Proprietors in the Themes of Thessaloniki and Strymon in the Second Half of the Thirteenth and the First Half of the Fourteenth Century

Village or Region	Proprietor	Date and Source	Comments
Lozikin	Petros Doukopoulos	Petit, <i>Chilandar</i> , nos. 100 (1324), 116 (1327); cf. 102, 114, 138; Regel, Kurtz, Korablev, <i>Zographou</i> , nos. 33, 34 (1342)	Held in the past
Lozikin	Petros Palaiologos	Petit, <i>Chilandar</i> , no. 30 (1314)	Is holding
Lozikin	Ioannes, Konstantinos,	Petit, <i>Chilandar</i> , no. 6 (1265)	Are ceding to Chilandar
Lozikin	Michael Spartenos		
Lozikin	Farmakes		
Lozikin	Anataulas	Petit, <i>Chilandar</i> , no. 116 (1327)	Is holding now
Lozikin	Gazes	<i>Zographou</i> , no. 10 (1286)	Is holding now
Psalida	Isauros	Unpublished <i>praktikon</i> of Maroules, Xenophon (1321)	Recently deceased
Psalida, Ourliakos, Apostolitai	Provatas	Unpublished <i>praktikon</i> of Saventzes, Xenophon (1321)	Provatas and Keroulas are proprietors in 1321; the others held in the past
	Michael Keroulas		
	Smyrnaïos		
	Michael Kavallarios (Serpes)		
Psalida	Syr Petros Martinos	Petit, <i>Xénophon</i> , no. 3 (1300)	Held in the past
Neakitou	Demetrios Doukopoulos	Petit, <i>Xénophon</i> , no. 3 (1300)	Held in the past
Stomion	Kyr Theodoros Angelos	Petit, <i>Xénophon</i> , no. 2 (1300)	Held in the past
Stomion	Syr Mourinos	Petit, <i>Xénophon</i> , no. 2 (1300)	Is proprietor in 1300, dies before 1320
		Cf. no. 7 (1320)	
Pinsson	Kassandrenos	<i>Periorismos</i> of Lavra, 1300	Dies before 1321
Sarantarea	Alyattes, kastroyfax	<i>Periorismos</i> of Lavra, 1300	
Loroton	Glabas, Cheimones	<i>Periorismoi</i> of Lavra, 1300, 1321	Cheimones dies before 1321
Loroton	Andrikopoulos,	<i>Periorismoi</i> of Lavra, 1300, 1321	
	Sarantenos Indanes		
	(Protokynegos)		

<i>Village or Region</i>	<i>Proprietor</i>	<i>Date and Source</i>	<i>Comments</i>
Loroton	Euthymios Filommates, Gabras	<i>Periorismos</i> of Lavra, 1300	
Loroton	Michael Keroulas	<i>Periorismos</i> of Lavra, 1321	
Salivara	Mammenos	<i>Periorismoi</i> of Lavra, 1300, 1321 (Neochorion)	
Karvaioi	Theodoros Chrysafes	<i>Periorismoi</i> of Lavra, 1300, 1321	
Karvaioi	Radenos, Drougoumanos, Mangafas	<i>Periorismoi</i> of Lavra, 1300, 1321	Mangafas held land before 1300
Genna	Radenos, Drougoumanos, Kapsoteles	<i>Periorismos</i> of Lavra, 1300	Kapsoteles held land before 1300
Linovrocheion	Alyattes, Kapsoteles, Neokastrites (stratiotes), Mangafas	<i>Periorismos</i> of Lavra, 1321	Mangafas held land before 1321
Elaia	Kapsoteles	<i>Periorismos</i> of Lavra, 1321	
Krya Pegadia	Kounales	<i>Periorismos</i> of Lavra, 1321	
Drymosita	Ioannes Isauros	<i>Periorismos</i> of Lavra, 1300	
Drymosita	Kounales, Michael Vlachermites	<i>Periorismos</i> of Lavra, 1300, 1321	Does not hold this land in 1321
Drymosita	Theodoros Lampenos, Ioannes Tarchaneiotēs	<i>Periorismos</i> of Lavra, 1321	
Drymosita,	Angelos	<i>Periorismoi</i> of Lavra, 1300, 1321	
Krya Pegadia	Theodoros Kounales	<i>Periorismos</i> of Lavra, 1321	
Mystakonon	Doukopoulos	<i>Periorismos</i> of Lavra, 1321	
Aghios Vasileios	Devlitzenos	<i>Periorismos</i> of Lavra, 1321	
Aghios Athanasios	Konstantinos Palaiologos		Palaiologos held land before 1321
Sarte	Kantakouzenos	<i>Periorismos</i> of Lavra, 1321	
Krousovo	Gavrielopoulos, Farnakes	Lefort, <i>Esphigménou</i> , no. 23(1347)	Both held land before 1347
Portarea	Georgios Anataulas	<i>Esphigménou</i> , no. 22(1346); no. 29(1388)	Held land before 1346; another Georgios Anataulas donates his land in 1388
Rachova	Mesopotamites	Lemerle, "Praktikon inédit," 1342	Held land before 1342
Geraza	Mesopotamites	Lemerle, "Praktikon inédit," 1342	Held land before 1342
Costompous	Vardanes, protasekretēs	Lemerle, "Praktikon inédit," 1342	Held land before 1342
Zeugelateion	Kantakouzenos	Lemerle, "Praktikon inédit," 1342	Held land before 1342
Tzainou			

<i>Village or Region</i>	<i>Proprietor</i>	<i>Date and Source</i>	<i>Comments</i>
Neon Chorion (near Thessaloniki) near N. Chorion	Masgidas, kyr Manouel	Lemerle, "Praktikon inédit," 1342	Held land before 1342
Zichna-Serres-Topolia	Anataulas, megas hetairiarches	Lemerle, "Praktikon inédit," 1342	Held land before 1342
Zichna	Arsenios Tzاملaplakon, Ioannes Margarites Synadenoi	Lemerle, "Praktikon inédit," 1342	Held in the past Is holding now
Near Serres	Sarakenos, Nikeforos Martinos	Petit, <i>Xénophon</i> , no. 80; Cantacuzenus, II, 491. Guillou, <i>Saint Jean Podrome</i> , no. 16(1325)	Held in the past; is holding now
Near and in Serres	Kosmas Pangalos	Lemerle, <i>Kutlumus</i> , no. 8(1313)	Is donating the land to Pantokrator
Near Serres	Theodora Kantakouzene	Regel, <i>Vatopedi</i> , p. 16(1329)	Is donating the land
Near Zichna	Theodoros Synadenos	Petit, <i>Chilandar</i> , no. 123(1333) Cf. no. 124	Is holding the land
Near Zichna	Alexios Chortatzes Palaialogos	Petit, <i>Chilandar</i> , no. 141(1353)	Held in the past
Ierissos	Alexios Amnon, Radenos	Petit, <i>Chilandar</i> , nos. 66, 72-73 (1321). Cf. <i>Espigménou</i> , no. 10 (1301).	Both held in the past, are dead in 1321
Ierissos	Devlitzenos	Regel, Kurtz, Korablev, <i>Zographou</i> , no. 33(1342)	Held in the past
Erissos	Philippos Devlitzenos	<i>Zographou</i> , no. 27(1328)	Held in the past
Kastrion (Gradec)	Ioannes Palaialogos	Petit, <i>Chilandar</i> , no. 7(1271)	Will cede the land to Chilandar
Kastrion	Stephen Uroš II	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 16(1300)	Held in the past
Kastrion	Georgios Vardanes, Manouel Devlitzenos, Syrgiannes Gazes, Nikephoros Chrysos, Georgios Kapsokavadas, Nikolaos Filommates, Sons of Kyprianos	Mošin, <i>Akit</i> , pp. 207-209	Held in the past
Kontogrikou Preasnitza	Skorivas Leon Koteanitzes	<i>Ibid.</i> , p. 212 Pettit, <i>Chilandar</i> , no. 11(1293)	Held in the past Is granted the land

Village or Region	Proprietor	Date and Source	Comments
Evmiani	Manouel Garianos (of <i>mega allagion</i> of Ierissos)	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 35(1318) (cf. Dölger, <i>Regesten</i> , no. 2400)	Is holding the land
Zeugelateion	Kassandrenos	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 41(1319) (cf. Dölger, <i>Regesten</i> , no. 2416)	Held the land in the past
Cortantze	Kassandrenos,	<i>Regesten</i> , no. 45-47	Kassandrenos held the land in the past;
Choundena (near Strymon)	Lependrenos	Petit, <i>Chilandar</i> , nos. 1319; cf. no. 126	Lependrenos is ceding it.
Zeugelateion	Vasileios Modenos,	Petit, <i>Chilandar</i> , nos. 60(1320), 70, 71(1321)	Palaiologos held land there; died before 1321
Osdravikin	Michael Palaiologos	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 41(1319)	Held land in the past
Zeugelateion Malouka	A certain <i>stratiotes</i>	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 67(1317); cf. Dölger, <i>Regesten</i> , no. 2389	Are holding land
Poungion (deserted, near Thessaloniki)	Sons of Alexios Evrippiotes, of <i>mega allagion</i> of Thessaloniki		
Potholinos, on Strymon	Kalodioiketes, Acheraites, Kourves Palaiologos, Mamonas, Tzymiskes	Petit, <i>Chilandar</i> , no. 150(1365)	Held in the past
Monospiton	Nikeforos Martinos (<i>stratiotes</i>)	Guillou, <i>Saint Jean Podrome</i> , nos. 7, 16(1317)	Held in the past
Korakomone (near Halmyros)	Demetrios Philanthropenos, Michael Proeleusis	Petit, <i>Chilandar</i> , no. 21(1304)	Philanthropenos is giving the land to Proeleusis
Zeugelateion of Ptelea	Patrikios Manouel Angelos	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 23(1306)	Is holding the land now
Kaisaropolis	Marina Modene	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 69	Is selling to Chilandar
Kritziana	Koulaïtes, Petzikopoulos, Sarantenos ¹	<i>Ibid.</i> , nos. 81, 86(1322); cf. no. 95	Held in the past
Kamenikeia	Sevastos Athanasios	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 83(1322)	Is selling the land
Near Chantax	Rammatas, Ioannes Pothos	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 115(1327)	Are holding the land
Prevista	Theodora Palaiologina	<i>Zographou</i> , nos. 22, 23(1325)	Is selling the land
Sgourou and Kyrour (Near Thessaloniki)	Philippos Deviltzenos	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 24(1326)	Land being transferred to Zographou
Pelorygion, near Strymon	Xene and Eufrosyne Sarantene	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 28(1330)	Land is being sold

¹ It is uncertain whether these lay proprietors form part of the feudal class, or of an independent peasantry.

<i>Village or Region</i>	<i>Proprietor</i>	<i>Date and Source</i>	<i>Comments</i>
Marmarion (on Strymon)	Strantzimer, pinkernes	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 36 (1344)	Land is being transferred
Loktista-Devolianni	Mavroforos,	<i>Philothée</i> , no. 8 (1344)	Land was held by Mavroforos, is being given to Choumnos
(near Zichna)	Ioannes Choumnos		
Ezova	Protostrator Theodoros	<i>Kutlumus</i> , no. 13 (1328 or 1343)	Land is being donated
	Kommenos, Palaeologos		
	Synadenos		
Region of Kalamaria	Demetrios Kavasilas	Oikonomidès, <i>Dionysiou</i> , no. 2 (1347)	Is holding
	Demetrios Farmakes	Dölger, <i>Regesten</i> , no. 2884 (1399)	
Katakale	Cavras	<i>Dionysiou</i> , no. 2 (1347)	Held land in the past
Plagena, Therma	Georgios Farmakes	<i>Ibid.</i>	Held land in the past
Mavro Vouno	Konstantinos Palaiologos,	Bompaire, <i>Xéropotamou</i> ,	Are holding land
	Demetrios Isauros	no. 22 (1317-1334)	
Ermeleia	Demetrios Asan	<i>Xéropotamou</i> , no. 26 (1349)	Held land in the past; dead before 1349
Veltzistha	Anna Tornikina Pinkernissa	<i>Pantocrator</i> , no. 3 (1358) ²	Keeps one-half of her land, gives one-half to Pantocrator
Zavarnikeia ³	Sarantenoi (Ignatios,	Petit, <i>Xénophon</i> , no. 10 (1335)	Held land in the past
	Diomedes, Nikolaos Doukas,		
	Alexios Doukas)		
Rentina	Farmakes	Petit, <i>Chilandar</i> , no. 116 (1327)	Is holding land now
Villages in theme of Serres and Thessaloniki	Patrikios Manouel Angelos	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 23 (1306)	
Baniani (near Skoplje), and Brempoustha	Zegros Radomiros and his brother	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 51 (1320)	Held land in the past
Radea	Bratishlavos	<i>Ibid.</i>	
Area in and around Štip	Stefan Chreles	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 131 (1333-1341)	Is donating the land
Drachova	Syr Manouel Mesopotamites	<i>Ibid.</i> , no. 132 (1343)	Is holding land

² L. Petit, *Actes de Pantocrator*, *Viz. Vrem.* X, Appendix 2 (1903).

³ Theme of Christopolis.

APPENDIX II

Measurement of the Migration Factor

IN Chapters VI and VII, migration is discussed as an important demographic factor affecting the population of monastic *paroikoi* in Macedonia. Given certain assumptions, the magnitude of the migration factor in villages with time-series may be estimated by the following equation:

$$P_{t+1} = P_t - dP_t + bP_t + mP_t, \quad (1)$$

where P_t is the population of time-series villages in one census, P_{t+1} is the population of the same villages in the next census,

d is the death rate,

b is the birth rate,

and m is the net number of migrants (in- or out-migrants) as a proportion of the population.

Some of these values are given by our data, while others may be estimated from the life tables. Thus, P_t and P_{t+1} are given, but the number of births and deaths must be estimated. The assumption is that the model-life tables give fairly accurate information for our population. It will be remembered that the choice of life table was made by reference to the age structure of our population. The age structure in 1300–1301 was the result of the rate of growth operating in the previous twenty to thirty years (about 1.5 percent), while the age structure in 1320–1321 reflected the rate of growth operating in 1300–1301 (0.5 percent), and in 1338–1341 the structure of the population reflected the growth rate as it operated since 1320–1321 (0).

I wish to thank Mr. Michael Karamanis for his kind help with this section.

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The age structure of time-series villages is somewhat different from that of the population as a whole, giving us the following growth rates (see table AII-1):

	Males	Females
1300-1301	R = 1%	R = 2%
1320-1321	R = 0	R = 0
1338-1341	R = 0	R = 0

Thus, zero population growth began to operate at least as early as 1320-1321.

Data

1. Population for time-series villages, Theme of Thessaloniki (main sample):

1300-1301	807
1320-1321	636
1338-1341	517

2. Birth rates (from model life tables):

	Males	Females
1300-1301	5.28%	6.58%
1320-1321	4%	4%
1338-1341	4%	4%

3. Death rates (from model life tables):

	Males	Females
1300-1301	4.28%	4.58%
1320-1321	4%	4%
1338-1341	4%	4%

Solving equation (1) for m , we obtain:

$$m = \frac{P_{t+1}}{P_t} - (1 - d + b) \quad (2)$$

For the population of time-series villages, the migration factor is:

TABLE A II-1
Age Structure of Time-series Villages, Theme of Thessaloniki, Main Sample^a

	1300		1321		1341	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Age I	261 (58%)	167 (46%)	130 (44%)	90 (30%)	105 (42%)	81 (31%)
II	166 (37%)	176 (48%)	138 (46%)	170 (57%)	117 (47%)	141 (54%)
III	20 (4.5%)	22 (6%)	29 (10%)	37 (12%)	27 (11%)	37 (14%)
<i>Male Data Corrected for the Sex Ratio</i>						
	1300		1321		1341	
Age I	217 (48%)	217 (48%)	120 (40%)	99 (40%)	120 (40%)	99 (40%)
Age II	205 (46%)	205 (46%)	146 (49%)	122 (49%)	146 (49%)	122 (49%)
Age III	25 (6%)	25 (6%)	31 (10%)	28 (11%)	31 (10%)	28 (11%)

^aThe figures outside parentheses represent absolute numbers. The meaning of the age categories is explained in Chapter VII.

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$$m_{1301}^{1320} = 0.7881 - 1 + 0.76 - 0.76 = -0.212$$

$$m_{1320}^{1341} = 0.8129 - 1 + 0.84 - 0.84 = -0.187$$

Therefore, in the period 1301 to 1320, there was a net out-migration rate of 21 percent for nineteen years; in the period 1320-1341, there was a net out-migration rate of 19 percent for twenty-one years; the rate was very high in both cases. For purposes of comparison, it will be remembered that the (gross) proportion of non-time-series households was 42 percent in 1300-1301 and 39 percent in 1341. In 1320, 31 percent of the households had no time-series to 1300-1301, and 60 percent had no time-series to 1341.

If we solve the same equation (2) using the data for those domains of the monastery of Lavra which had a time series to 1321, the results are similar (see table AII-2):

Data for Lavra, Time-series Villages

1. Population

1300	1,204 ¹
1321	1,334

2. Growth rate:

	Males	Females
1300	1.5%	3%
1321	1%	1.5%

3. Birth rates (from model life tables):

	Males	Females
1300	5.95%	8.03%
1321	5.28%	5.89%

¹ The population figure has been corrected by the addition of the thirty-two households which I have estimated as missing in the census of Gomatou in 1300.

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4. Death rates (from model life tables):

	Males	Females
1300	4.45%	5.03%
1321	4.28%	4.39%

If we use the female growth rate, we obtain:

$$m_{1300}^{1321} = 1.108 - 1 + 0.922 - 1.237 = - 0.207$$

If we use the male growth rate, we obtain:

$$m_{1300}^{1321} = 1.108 - 1 + 0.899 - 1.109 = - 0.102$$

Thus, if we use the female growth rate we get a net outmigration of 21 percent, whereas with the male growth rate the net outmigration seems to be only 10 percent. The true figure probably lies somewhere between the two, at approximately 15 percent.

It will be remembered that the proportion of non-time-series households in these domains of Lavra was 36 percent in 1300 and 25 percent in 1321. It is clear that outmigration

TABLE A II-2
Age Structure of the Time-series, Villages of Lavra^a

	1300		1321	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Age I	329 (58%)	233 (46%)	357 (53.5%)	287 (43.5%)
Age II	201 (36%)	237 (46%)	258 (39%)	310 (47%)
Age III	33 (5.9%)	40 (7.8%)	52 (8%)	62 (9%)
<i>Male Data Corrected for the Sex Ratio</i>				
		1300	1321	
Age I		299 (53%)	325 (49%)	
Age II		227 (40%)	285 (43%)	
Age III		37 (7%)	57 (9%)	

^aThe figures outside parentheses represent absolute numbers. The meaning of the age categories is explained in Chapter VII.

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from the domains of Lavra was lower than outmigration from the villages with time-series to 1341, which are primarily the villages of the domains of Iveron. It is also clear that the greater outmigration in the second case was an outmigration of individuals, not of entire households. It is, no doubt, for this reason that the household coefficient in the domain of Iveron fell considerably over time (from 4.9 in 1301 to 3.7 in 1320 to 2.9 in 1341), while the size of the households in the domains of Lavra remained much more stable (4.7 in 1300 and 4.1 in 1321).

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